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A Marriage and its Music: The Work of Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo Respighi in Fascist Italy

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Penny Rae Sunshine-3 Brandt, PhD

University of Connecticut, 2017

Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo (1894–1996) was an Italian pianist, singer, and composer. She composed several works for voice and piano early in life that were published by Casa Ricordi in Milan, but she ultimately put her creative aspirations aside for the opportunity to become the housewife and assistant of her composition teacher, the celebrated composer Ottorino Respighi (1879–1936). The marriage provided Olivieri with connections and performance opportunities that continued to benefit her during the sixty years she lived as a widow. After Respighi's death, she returned briefly to composition as a means of catharsis, composing both small and large-scale works—including two completed operas that remain unpublished and unperformed. Olivieri's unique musical style was, in part, a product of her Mexican heritage and her position as a woman and wife living in fascist Italy. Important style traits in her music include nuanced exoticism, references to folk songs and Gregorian melodies, and complex realizations of female characters. As part of feminist musicology's larger endeavor to create a historical context for women composers, this research provides a new avenue for understanding historical women as autonomous people who acted in their own best interests and discovered ways to succeed and contribute to their art through mechanisms that may have been overlooked or minimized by previous scholars. This project is the most comprehensive English source on Olivieri to date; it includes an updated catalog of her works and translations of key passages of non-English writings by and about her. It examines Olivieri's life and representative works,

considers new avenues for understanding aesthetics of identity and difference, and explores the collaborations and mutual influence of Olivieri and Respighi, in the context of a marriage of two artists, living in fascist Italy, who both respected and depended on each other.

A Marriage and its Music: The Work of Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo Respighi in Fascist Italy

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M.A., University of Connecticut, 2013

A Dissertation

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2017

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APPROVAL PAGE

Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation

A Marriage and its Music: The Work of Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo Respighi in Fascist Italy

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INTRODUCTION

A Marriage and its Music: The Work of Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo Respighi in fascist Italy

Exposition

Writing about Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo Respighi (1894–1996) presents a number of difficulties. Some of these are issues inherent to writing about a woman composer, including the problematic nature of the aesthetics of identity and difference. Others are unique issues created by the extraordinary relationship between her and her more famous husband and teacher, Ottorino Respighi (1879–1936)—most notably problems of attribution within their abiding collaboration. There are complex, overarching issues of music and politics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—Italian Fascism, musical modernism, and increases in globalization and transnational identities. Complicating all of this is the fact that she is almost entirely unknown as a composer, and it is unlikely that the reader will be familiar with any of her music. In spite of these barriers, the project is well worth undertaking: her music is worthy of performance and study, she was well acquainted with some of the most famous musicians of her time, and it is clear from her writings that she was deeply committed to and insightful about music as an art form. In this introduction, I will present Olivieri’s biography and address the factors that most directly complicate our understanding of her life and work.

The first difficulty in a discussion of a woman composer that is rarely present when discussing male composers is the necessity of deciding how to address her. Like musicologist Judith Tick in her biography of Ruth Crawford Seeger, I have chosen to address my subject by her maiden name, the name with which she signed her compositions

both before and after her marriage.¹ As in the case with Crawford, there is no clear consensus among authors who have previously written about the Respighi family or indeed from the composer herself. Her maiden name appears on several songs published by Casa Ricordi of Milan prior to her marriage and a dramatic cantata, also published by Ricordi, that she composed after Respighi's death. It also appears on *Due Canzoni Italiane* for guitar, published posthumously in 2006 by the Andrés Segovia Foundation, and on her unpublished scores held at the Fondazione Cini in Venice. It is unclear if she chose to publish the later compositions under her maiden name in order to maintain a link with her previously published compositions, or in order to distance her musical output from that of her husband, or both.

During her time as a widow, Elsa Respighi published two biographical memoirs of her husband, both of which musicologist Lee Barrow describes as “understandably biased,” along with a few other works of fiction and non-fiction, all under her married name.² Given

¹ See Judith Tick, “A Note on Names” in *Ruth Crawford Seeger* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), x.

² Lee G. Barrow, “Guilt by Association: The Effect of Attitudes toward Fascism on the Critical Assessment of the Music of Ottorino Respighi,” *International Review of Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 42, no. 1 (June 2011): 87.

Published prose works by Elsa Respighi:

- “D’Annunzio, Respighi, e ‘La vergine e la città.’” *Scenario* 7, no. 4 (1938): 214.
- “Appunti per un ritratto di Ottorino Respighi.” *Musica* 5, no. 2 (1946). Italian.
- “L’influence du Chant grégorien dans la musique de Respighi.” *Schweizerische Musikzeitung/Revue musicale Suisse* 96, no. 4 (April 1946): 161–2. French. [See appendix C for translation.]
- Ottorino Respighi: dati biografici ordinate*. Milan: G. Ricordi, 1954. Italian.
- Venti lettere a Mary Webs: romanzo*. Milan: Ceschina, 1957. Italian.
- “Ottorino Respighi.” *Bullettino dell’Accademia Musicale Chigiana* 14, no. 3 (1961): ii–iii.
- Ottorino Respighi: His Life Story*. Trans. and abr. Gwyn Morris. London: G. Ricordi, 1962.

her second “renunciation,” as she expressed it, of her career as a composer in 1950—the first occurred in 1919 when she married Respighi, and she returned to composition after his death in 1936—in favor of complete devotion to the promotion of Respighi’s music, it is unsurprising that any remaining work would be published exclusively under her married name.³

Given this publication history, I have chosen to address my subject as Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo, or Olivieri for short, in large part because I am concerned with her work as a composer. I also wish to distance her from her more famous husband, in order to situate her historically as an autonomous person, which she was even, and perhaps especially, when she made the decision to suppress her own talent in favor of supporting her husband’s career. Although her preference to be addressed by her married name in later life was personal, it works against current recognition of her musical voice and its influence on her husband. Knowledge of the couple’s mutual influence will increase interest in performances and understanding of the music of both composers, ultimately helping to fulfill Olivieri’s stated mission—the promotion of Respighi’s legacy—while also bringing new and interesting material to the attention of musicologists, historians, and musicians.

Vita con gli uomini. Volume 28 of *La Girandola*. Rome: Trevi editore, 1975.
Cinquant’anni di vita nella musica (dal 1905 al 1955). Rome: Trevi, 1977. Italian.
Bragaglia, Leonardo and Elsa Respighi. *Il teatro di Respighi*. Volume 126 of *Biblioteca di cultura*. Rome: Bulzoni, 1978.
Fifty Years of a Life in Music, 1905–1955. Trans. By Giovanni Fontecchio and Roger Johnson. Vol. 42 of *Studies in the History and Interpretation of Music*. Lewiston, New York: Mellen, 1992.

³ E. Respighi, *Cinquant’anni di vita nella musica: 1905–1955* (Rome: Trevi, 1977), 276–277.

The relationship of Olivieri and Respighi is an unusual one in the classical music world, as they first met as student and teacher and subsequently collaborated as peers during their marriage. Although Olivieri did not compose her own works after the first year of their marriage, she was active as Respighi's assistant and introduced him to folk songs that she had learned as a child and Gregorian melodies that she had studied as a young adult. Determining the nature of their influence on one another is a difficult task, however. Olivieri's own descriptions of their interactions often focus on Respighi's genius, and she consistently prefers to emphasize his accomplishments over her own. Constructions of gender and marriage in Italy during the early twentieth century played a significant role in both Olivieri's notion of self and the portrait presented in the literature about her life and work, and bringing these constructions to light will provide insight into decisions Olivieri and those close to her made. Her biographers describe her as a "good wife" to Respighi, nursing him through illness, bouts of hypochondria, and depression. Because being a good wife was important both to Olivieri and to others who wrote about her, her non-musical support of Respighi was valued over her creative contributions to his work and even her own compositions. Since the work of valuing Olivieri as a wife has already been satisfactorily done, the focus of my work is on her music, her influence on Respighi's music, and her contributions to musical culture in the early twentieth century.

Because they are biographies of her famous husband, Olivieri's two non-fiction books are the most read of her works. The first, titled *Ottorino Respighi*, was published by Ricordi in Milan in 1954, and was subsequently translated into English by Gwyn Morris and published by Ricordi in London in 1962, twenty-six years after Respighi's death. The biography was also translated into German the same year and re-printed in Italian in 1985.

The English version is an abridged version, lacking approximately one-third of the original material, without any introduction or explanation. Nevertheless, the biography provides a useful catalog in all three languages of important dates, events, and compositions by Respighi. Olivieri writes about her husband's early years, presumably with information learned from the composer himself, and cites the notebooks of the couple's longtime friend and librettist, Claudio Guastalla (1880–1948), to support her own experience. Guastalla states in the introduction to his notebooks that Olivieri asked him to write them: "Elsa often asks me to finish my memories [of Respighi] before I die, and I urge her to write that book that she probably will not write."⁴ Olivieri did in fact write the book, but not until after Guastalla's death.

Olivieri's second prose work is a memoir of her experiences as part of the musical community in the Western world before, during, and after her marriage. It is also designed to promote Respighi's legacy. Its title is *Cinquant'anni di vita nella musica: 1905–1955* (*Fifty Years of a Life in Music*), and it was published by Trevi in Italian in 1977 and translated into English by Giovanni Fontecchio and Roger Johnson in 1993. Fontecchio and Johnson include an introduction describing their interactions with and impressions of Olivieri, and they explain their struggle to convey her linguistic style without losing any of the accuracy of the memoir. This English translation is not abridged and is much more faithful to the original Italian than the translation of Olivieri's earlier biography of Respighi.

⁴ Claudio Guastalla, "Respighi I: Appunti raccolti nel giugno–luglio 1942," Archivio Respighi S. 17 / Il D. 19, 13. ["spesso Elsa mi incita a fermare i miei ricordi, prima di morire, ed io la sprono a scriver quel libro che probabilmente non scriverà."]

Olivieri's memoir is the most important source for research on her life, but, like the biographic writings, it cannot be read uncritically. Olivieri expresses strong, candid opinions in her reviews of concerts she attended in her youth; she insists, for example, that Claude Debussy was a wonderful composer but a poor conductor and declares the exact opposite to be the case for Gustav Mahler. She is kinder to contemporary Italian composers than to anyone else, but it is Respighi alone who escapes negative criticism. Although she may admit to having attended poorly organized performances of his works, she has nothing bad to say about any of his music and is careful to give the reader example after example of positive responses from audiences as well as from the great musicians of his time. Aside from the author's own bias, there is the issue of accurate readings of her own materials. At eighty years of age, Olivieri compiled this version of her life story by extracting details from diaries and notebooks written by her younger self, as well as those of her beloved "Aunt Mimmi," the estranged wife of her mother's brother who lived with Olivieri's family after her father's death, and the aforementioned Guastalla. She read through old concert programs to re-create her own timeline and fleshed it out with details from her memory—details colored by musical and personal developments over the years. There appear to be a few minor mistakes. For instance, when she describes Alfred Casella arriving at the Accademia di Santa Cecilia in 1915 to teach piano, she asserts that he studied in Paris with Gabriel Fauré and with the important pianist "Denier." Casella, however, is known to have studied with the famous French pianist Louis-Joseph Diémer, and it is probable that "Denier" is a misreading of her own notes, which are lost.⁵

⁵ E. Respighi, *Cinquant'anni*, 51. See also Charles Timbrell's *French Pianism* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1999), 52.

In spite of its minor inaccuracies and significant bias, *Cinquant'anni di vita nella musica* is a valuable resource. Not only does Olivieri frankly discuss her early musical education, development as a composer, and the reasons that she ultimately renounced her work, she also places herself in the context of the great musical culture of Rome in the early twentieth century. She does not attempt to give an objective account of musical transformation and the growth of modernism, but she does draw the reader in with her subjective experience, painting a clear picture of the opposing musical forces and personalities of the time.

The early twentieth century in Italy was an exciting time in music and politics, and the ideologies of musical modernism and Italian fascism must be taken into consideration to understand the context of Olivieri's life and work. Both movements are difficult to define; neither has a clear or concise ideology. Modernism in music comprises aesthetic trends and ideas applied to music in a number of different ways during the twentieth century, but also, as Leon Botstein notes, to "the fundamental conviction among successive generations of composers since 1900 that the means of musical expression in the 20th century must be adequate to the unique and radical character of the age."⁶ Italian fascism similarly connotes a period of time and a complex amalgamation of aesthetics and ideologies. It can be said to specifically denote Benito Mussolini's rule from October of 1922 to July of 1943, but also comprises a multitude of movements and ideas that spilled over into other geographic regions and continues to be part of political discourse today. As

⁶ Leon Botstein. "Modernism." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed March 15, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.uconn.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/40625>.

historian James B. Whisker notes, “Fascism was touted by Mussolini as a unique combination of thought and action, yet fascism was still seeking an ideology after the Second World War was over.”⁷ For the purposes of this study, both “modernism” and “fascist Italy” will be considered broadly and in terms of their specific effects on Olivieri’s life and music.

Olivieri was an interesting composer who turned away from her own career in order to support her husband’s. In the process of supporting him she also assisted with and influenced his work, which gave her a creative outlet that satisfied her desire to compose. Proving these statements is difficult, in part because Olivieri rarely discussed her own work as a composer, and in part because Respighi had been her main composition teacher, thus influencing her work before she had any opportunity to return the favor. Moreover, finding value in her life and work does not require proving that, but for the oppressive patriarchal structures in place in Italy during her lifetime, Olivieri could have been considered one of the “great” composers of Western music. The work that she chose to pursue instead, together with her biography, teach us that great art is often collaborative, that women have powerful stories to tell, and that a gendered lens is a valuable tool for understanding aesthetics and assumptions about them.

In each chapter of this dissertation I will argue three points. First, I will examine music by both Respighi and Olivieri for evidence of each composer’s unique compositional voice using traditional analytical techniques, while also considering the contexts of Italian nationalism and gender; second, I will determine specific instances in which Olivieri

⁷ James B. Whisker, “Italian Fascism: An Interpretation,” *The Journal of Historical Review* 4, No. 1, (Spring 1983): 5–27.

influenced Respighi's works; and third, I will call attention to some of Olivieri's rarely performed and unperformed works, including several songs for voice and piano, a dramatic cantata, and two operas. By bringing attention to the mutual influence between Respighi and Olivieri, I seek to contribute to a growing body of scholarship that aims to deconstruct the idea of the "great" composer as a monolith. My consideration of each composer's work through a gendered lens will add to an area of musicology that allows for a new consideration of aesthetics of identity.

Biographical Sketch

Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo was born on 24 March 1894.⁸ She was named after Elsa von Brabant, a character in Wagner's *Lohengrin*, and was surrounded by music in her early life.⁹ Her father, Arturo Olivieri Sangiacomo, had retired as an army officer to become a writer and journalist and was a Wagner enthusiast, while his own father preferred Verdi. Her mother, Maria Canobbio Tamés, born in Mazatlán in Mexico, sang Spanish-language lullabies, and accompanied herself with the guitar to entertain the family.¹⁰ Olivieri began piano lessons at the age of six and was composing works for the piano by age nine.¹¹ Her

⁸ This biographical sketch summarizes information in Olivieri's memoir, *Cinquant'anni di vita nella musica: 1905–1955*, published under the name Elsa Respighi. The book presents her life events chronologically. A timeline of significant events in Olivieri's life is included in appendix B. Where possible, these events have been verified in concert programs from the Accademia di Santa Cecilia archives and other official documents.

⁹ E. Respighi, *Cinquant'anni*, 4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 8–9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

father passed away suddenly on Christmas day in 1903 before the birth of his fifth child. Initially, the family received financial support from Maria's wealthy parents, but the funds were cut off when Maria took her brother's estranged wife and daughter into their household. Nevertheless, the family appears to have lived quite comfortably on funds from Arturo's estate, possibly because of the large dowry that had been paid to him upon his marriage to Maria.¹² The aforementioned estranged wife is Olivieri's beloved "Aunt Mimmi," who is quoted often throughout *Cinquant'anni*.

When she was fifteen, Olivieri entered the Accademia di Santa Cecilia in Rome, where Giovanni Sgambati offered her free piano lessons because of her talent.¹³ Neuritis in her forearm prevented her from completing the course in piano, and she enrolled as a singer instead. She became interested in music of the church and studied Gregorian chant with Baron Rudolph Kanzler. After completing the program in voice, she applied as a composer in order to study with Ottorino Respighi, who was to become her husband in 1919.¹⁴ She was one of sixteen students accepted in 1915, and the only woman in her class.

Respighi was born 9 July 1879 in Bologna. He learned to play the piano and the violin from his father before studying violin, viola, and composition at Bologna's Liceo Musicale. He composed his first major work, *The Symphonic Variations*, for his final examination at the school. After graduating, he accepted the position of principal violist

¹² More on this in Chapter One.

¹³ E. Respighi, *Cinquant'anni*, 22–23.

¹⁴ "Adriano's Conversations with Elsa Respighi," in Rome, 12 September, 1977, transcribed at <http://adrianomusic.com/elsa1.html>. Accessed 28 December 2013. Adriano is a Swiss-born conductor who collaborated with Olivieri to produce recordings of some of Respighi's works in the late twentieth century. He has transcribed recordings of their conversations and made them available online. He uses only the name "Adriano."

with the Russian Imperial Theatre in St. Petersburg, where he became fluent in Russian and briefly studied composition with Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov. Following additional employment and study in Italy and Germany, he was appointed professor of composition at the Accademia di Santa Cecilia in 1913.

Olivieri was twenty-one when she enrolled in a class in counterpoint taught by Respighi, who was thirty-six. He found her to be a promising student, particularly when she presented him with an excerpt of *Tre canzoni spagnole* instead of the string quartet that had been her assignment. Respighi sent the songs to Ricordi in Milan with a letter of recommendation, and they were published in 1919. The following year, she completed her final composition as his student, a tone poem titled *Serenata di maschere*, which Respighi also sent to his publisher along with critic Alberto Gasco's positive review describing its debut as a "resounding success owing to its most brilliant orchestration and devilish liveliness."¹⁵

Olivieri gives conflicting information about whether their relationship became romantic while she was still Respighi's student.¹⁶ He proposed marriage soon after her studies were complete. In recounting her reaction to his proposal, Olivieri describes her first renunciation of her own work:

I had always held the maestro in a kind of adoration; but I could not, in truth, imagine becoming his wife. A thousand thoughts, a thousand

¹⁵ Potito Pedarra, foreword to Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo, *Due Canzone Italiane per chitarra* (Ancona: Bèrben, 2006), 6.

¹⁶ E. Respighi, *Cinquant'anni*, 35.

doubts tormented me; and I spent days in agony. How would it be possible for me to continue working by his side?¹⁷

My soul-searching—let us call it that—was long and merciless; and only when I was absolutely convinced that I could renounce my family, the life I had led until then, and my work itself, and dedicate myself entirely to *his* life and *his* work—only then did I, without any reservation, accept his proposal. I believe that this period of my life paralleled that of a person about to enter a monastic order.¹⁸

Olivieri claims that both composers had doubts about the partnership, because both had independent, difficult personalities and neither had ever considered compromising their career for a relationship.

In spite of her claim of renunciation, during the first year of their marriage, she composed and published four Italian songs inspired by Omar Khayam's *Rubayat*, and two French songs, *Je n'ai rien* and *Berceuse bretonne*, all with the Italian publisher Ricordi. All of Olivieri's published music, according to the Italian musicologist and Respighi expert Potito Pedarra, met with "extraordinary success."¹⁹ However, Olivieri soon began to feel that assisting Respighi was too great of a task to allow her to continue with her own work. Pedarra quotes her as saying, "Ubi major, minor cessar," meaning, "Wherever a greater one

¹⁷ Ibid., 64. [Avevo sempre avuto per il Maestro una forma di adorazione e non poteva realizzare l'idea di diventare sua moglie. Mille pensieri e mille dubbi mi tormentavano e passavo giorni penosi: come mi sarebbe stato possibile lavorare ancora vicino a lui?]

¹⁸ Ibid., 65. [Il mio esame di coscienza, chiamiamolo così, fu lungo e spietato e soltanto quando fui assolutamente convinta di poter rinunciare alla mia famiglia, alla vita che avevo fino allora condotto, al mio stesso lavoro, per dedicarmi interamente alla *sua* vita e al *suo* lavoro, io accettai con piena coscienza di diventare sua moglie. Credo che quel travagliato periodo della mia vita si possa ben paragonare a quello di una persona che stia per abbracciare un ordine monastico.]

¹⁹ Pedarra, foreword to *Due Canzone*, 6.

is, the smaller one vanishes.”²⁰ In conversations, Olivieri explained to Pedarra, “In the afternoon the maestro always stayed home, and I could not even think of interfering with his work or his reading and so I postponed my intention to ‘work.’”²¹ After the aforementioned six songs were published in 1920, Olivieri did not publish anything during their seventeen-year marriage. The archives at the Fondazione Cini contain no evidence that she resumed composing until after Respighi’s death. During the years in between, the couple gave hundreds of concerts in Europe and the Americas. Respighi composed songs for Olivieri to sing, and the couple also performed the songs she had written. They associated with eminent musicians such as Arturo Toscanini, Vladimir Horowitz, Arthur Rubenstein, and Jascha Heifetz. In a salon concert in Berlin, the audience included Albert Einstein, who turned pages for Respighi at the piano.²²

Olivieri also worked as Respighi’s composition assistant, offering advice when asked. She believed Respighi respected her judgment, because in addition to her studies with him, she had been involved with music all her life and had obtained “a degree in Gregorian chant.” She was frank in her criticism of his work, and Respighi made adjustments based on her suggestions.²³ In fact, there are many places in Respighi’s scores where Olivieri’s handwriting appears. Because Respighi was frequently overwhelmed with

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² E. Respighi, *Cinquant’anni*, 183.

²³ “Adriano’s Conversations with Elsa Respighi,” in Rome, September 12, 1977. Accessed 13 December 2012 at http://www.musicweb-international.com/respighi/Adriano_Elsa_Vol6.htm

his many projects, Olivieri acted as his copyist and took dictation. If she was ever tempted to finish a project for him or to make changes to his scores, she never admitted it, but rather insisted that all works were the product of Respighi's unique genius, while she herself was simply a scribe.

In late 1935, Respighi was diagnosed with a type of blood poisoning, which caused a slow, fatal inflammation of his heart tissue.²⁴ Olivieri devoted herself to his care, insisting all visitors maintain a cheery disposition as though nothing was wrong. After his death in April of 1936, Olivieri completed his opera, *Lucrezia*, composing twenty-nine pages of the 234-page score. She writes, "I knew the opera by heart, because in the afternoon Respighi would always let me hear what he had composed in the morning."²⁵ At the opera's premiere, she was delighted when the artistic director of La Scala, Victor de Sabata, told her that the entire opera sounded as though Respighi had composed it.²⁶ This was, perhaps, her proudest moment as a composer—when she had so completely adopted Respighi's style that the two composers could not be distinguished.

Olivieri continued to arrange Respighi's music and to produce performances of his works, frequently relying on the couple's successful friends for support. She returned to composition as a method of working through her grief, composing the dramatic cantatas *Pianto de la Madonna* and *Preghiera di Santa Caterina* as well as two operas with libretti by

²⁴ Olivieri quotes extensively from Guastalla's notebooks in the original narration of Respighi's death and the posthumous completion of *Lucrezia*. See Elsa Respighi, *Ottorino Respighi* (Milan: Ricordi, 1954), 326–330.

²⁵ Ibid., 207. [Conoscevo l'opera a memoria perché Ottorino mi faceva sempre ascoltare nel pomeriggio quello che aveva compost la mattina.]

²⁶ Ibid., 211. [Elsa, Lei sa se io conosco profondamente le partiture di Respighi; ebbene, Le posso dire che non sono riuscito a distinguere quali sono le pagine da Lei compiute.]

Guastalla. She won a prestigious award for the one-act opera *Il dono di Alceste*, which would have been performed in 1942 if developments in the war had not prevented the Royal Opera House in Rome from presenting its planned schedule—at least, this is the explanation she was given. Olivieri believed that politics may have also played a role in the decision to cancel her opera.

Upon realizing she would have to raise funds herself to present her operas, Olivieri decided to stop composing again. This second renunciation of herself as a composer, as she describes it, was even more painful than the first. In her memoir, she compares her composition career to canasta—an enjoyable, but ultimately useless pursuit.²⁷ At the same time, Olivieri asked Ricordi to cease publication of her songs and did not pursue additional performances of her music. To date, Ricordi will only publish Olivieri's songs for mezzo-soprano and piano by request, at least two songs remain out of print, and the two operas have never been performed. Olivieri spent several more decades promoting Respighi's music—including his centennial celebration in Italy in 1979—and died in Rome shortly before her 102nd birthday.

Feminist Aesthetics and Socio-Historical Context

An analysis of Olivieri's music requires a balance between the perspectives of a music historian and a social crusader. The biographer of a woman composer often feels obliged to justify the subject's life-choices, to explain why the reader is not already acquainted with her works, and to describe how social constructions and gendered

²⁷ Ibid., 277.

aesthetics have affected critical response to her music. Indeed, a whole field of study has grown up on the subject of gender and composition that asks and re-asks the question, “If women are as capable as men, then why is their music so rarely regarded with the same esteem?” The following is a summary of possible answers to this important question.

In feminist biography, there has been a tendency to focus on the potential of women composers and the societal restrictions that have inhibited that potential.²⁸ Although this type of biography can be satisfying for the author, it can also cloud historical truth, ignoring the agency of women composers who consciously did not seek to fulfill their musical potential through hegemonic narratives. Moreover, a focus exclusively on the limits faced by women in the past often replaces a more complex discussion of the difficult choices they made to integrate their careers and personal lives and may render their agency invisible or incomprehensible. Here, I will strike a balance between respecting Olivieri’s clearly articulated wishes regarding her compositional career while also exploring the constructions of gender that were at play in early twentieth-century Italy. In doing so, I hope to offer a nuanced reading of her intentions against the background of typical gender roles of her time.

In her penetrating 2013 article on Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel, Marian Wilson Kimber discusses changes in the conceptual basis for feminist biography and the recognition of women in history as agents of their own careers and livelihoods. She posits that both Hensel and her most immediate biographers had an agenda in painting a portrait of her that conformed to societal expectations for a nineteenth-century wife and mother.

²⁸ Marion Wilson Kimber, “The ‘Suppression’ of Fanny Mendelssohn: Rethinking Feminist Biography,” *19th-Century Music* 26, no. 2 (Fall 2002): 113-129.

Later feminist biographers critiqued this image and responded to it by “correcting” the history, insisting that Hensel was oppressed and actively discouraged by her family from publishing her music. But, as Kimber explains,

If feminist biography and women’s history as a whole are to have any validity, they must not abandon a historical method that believes in evidence and replace it with fiction. This commitment sometimes means telling a story that we wish was different.²⁹

This is not to say that it is unimportant to understand the social and cultural constructions within which composers like Hensel and Olivieri made decisions about their lives—only that is important to balance those constructions with the recognition that they were intelligent and capable individuals who made professional and personal choices for their own benefit. As Kimber explains, “the difficulties encountered in telling the story of Hensel’s life reveal a need for a feminist biography that balances an understanding of larger cultural constraints with recognition of individual female agency.”³⁰ This thought is certainly relevant for Olivieri as well.

To analyze Olivieri’s work, then, requires not just the analysis of her compositions, but also an analysis of her contributions to Respighi’s work, and an investigation of how each composer influenced the other. It is necessary to consider the implications of gender on each composer. Today, many musicologists—and also composers—are reluctant to ponder how gender might affect compositional output, even though the topic has been a part of the discourse of musicology for over thirty years. In the preface to her book *The Woman Composer*, Jill Halstead acknowledged in 1997 that she was, “aware of the

²⁹ Kimber, “The ‘Suppression’ of Fanny Mendelssohn,” 126.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 128.

skepticism and criticism evoked by gender studies in music, not least from women composers themselves.”³¹ Although the music of women composers makes up a small portion of the classical music performed around the world, and although women conductors and performers still represent significantly less than half of classical musicians, “women composers are desperate for their work to be judged on merit alone; they wish to be treated equally and without discrimination, whether positive or negative.”³² While this position is an understandable one, Halstead poignantly argues:

However, the belief that musical quality alone will catapult women composers into the midst of the musical canon is not only somewhat optimistic but also tends in many ways to confirm that women composers of the past and present are being ignored for all the right reasons.³³

If one accepts the obvious premise that women are capable of musical understanding and expression, and one also recognizes that historically there has been a significant number of women composers, then there are only two possible explanations for the lack of music by women composers in the standard canon of western music: gendered differences in composition or socially constructed gendered responses to music. The latter disrupts a hegemonic understanding of a universal musical aesthetic.

Lydia Goehr describes aesthetics of music as “theoretical reflections on the status of music as an art and as a form of meaningful articulation” that originated in ancient Greece,

³¹ Jill Halstead, *The Woman Composer* (Vermont: Ashgate, 1997), x.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

where philosophers endeavored to describe the universal appeal of the “best” music.³⁴ Because both the musical subjects and the philosophers considering them were a part of the ancient Western world, both the music and its aesthetics were infused with the ideals and preferences of the time. Thus, Western classical music and its aesthetics were viewed by their originators as raceless and genderless when, in fact, they were the product of white male thought. This hegemonic idea of musical aesthetics persisted into the twentieth century and is still pervasive in musicology.

Feminist aesthetics has only been applied to music very recently. In her 2002 book *Feminist Aesthetics in Music*, Sally MacArthur points to the writings of Hélène Cixous and Luce Irigaray and notes that their idea of *l'écriture féminine* has been applied to the visual arts, but not to music. The reason for this, according to MacArthur, is that music has long been regarded as “the most abstract of the arts,” and that it was not until the 1990s that musicologists began to consider the possibility of gendered content encoded in the music itself. MacArthur notes a disconnect between nineteenth-century aesthetics and feminist aesthetics in that the latter is “profoundly embodied,” while the former maintains, “the body is viewed as inferior to the mind.” She reconciles these ideas with the assertion, “bodies as producers and consumers necessarily mediate all experiences of art, and, to that extent, art exists not in the transcendental realm outside signification but, rather, in the

³⁴ Lydia Goehr, et al. "Philosophy of music." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed January 23, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.uconn.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/52965pg3>.

physical, material world.”³⁵ MacArthur’s point is striking: indeed, art cannot be interpreted except by internal perceptions of real, embodied experiences. Perhaps only a thinking person can interpret art, but only a feeling person can experience that which will be interpreted.

Susan McClary, often referred to as “the first feminist musicologist,” although she was certainly not the first musicologist to engage with women’s issues, advocates for a break with traditionally male forms of music in her essay of 1987, “Getting Down Off the Beanstalk: The Presence of a Woman’s Voice in Janika Vandervelde’s *Genesis II*.” In this controversial essay, McClary associates climactic moments in both classical and rock music with male sexuality, going so far as to equate the build-up and release of tension in Bizet’s *Carmen* and Tchaikovsky’s Fourth Symphony with what she terms a “money shot”—slang for the moment of visible male ejaculation—in pornographic film. In her review of *Genesis II*, a work that is filled with disrupted climaxes, cyclic progressions, and a depiction of childbirth, she avers that although the composer of this piece intentionally associates it with female sexuality, men are also capable of composing a non-climactic or multi-climactic piece. She acknowledges compositions by Steve Reich and Philip Glass that similarly refrain from “striving violently for control,” in order to serve as an example of female sexuality in music, necessary to balance the explosive male sexuality that is ubiquitous.³⁶

³⁵ Sally MacArthur, *Feminist Aesthetics in Music* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2002), 17.

³⁶ Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1991), 112–131.

It is a prominent idea in the literature on feminist aesthetics that refusal to conform to established “male” forms is a defining aspect of women’s art and scholarship. Yet, classical forms shifted and were at times even abandoned throughout the nineteenth century, and still, no great women composers appeared. In the twentieth century, theorists such as McClary, David Lewin, and Dane Rudhyar attributed avant-garde atonality and Schoenberg’s “emancipation of dissonance” to societal deconstructions of race, gender and sexual identity, and even to democracy and Buddhism, but the music they discuss is still predominantly composed by white men of European descent. Women—especially women of color and queer women—remain invisible even in the deconstructed reality these musicologists espouse.

Art Historian Linda Nochlin famously asked, “Why have there been no great women artists?” and McClary similarly engages with the question of why there have been no great women composers: “The idea is that given the same access to training and education, women too will emerge as composers, indistinguishable from their male colleagues.”³⁷ She suggests, however, that because music is analyzed in a method that allows the “best” music—wherein “best” means music that will be preferred by the experts who have created the musical canon as it stands—to speak for itself without reference to gender or cultural situatedness, the result is that music that reflects hegemonic discourse will constantly rise to the top. McClary writes, “the theoretical discourse about music tends to treat musical shapes as self-contained entries and systematically blocks consideration of its

³⁷ McClary, *Feminine Endings*, 114.

content.”³⁸ In her view, the privileging of the formal analysis of these “self-contained” pieces of music over an analysis of their content devalues music by women composers. While her point is important, it unfortunately makes the dangerous insinuation that women’s music may not stand on its own without the assistance of cultural contexts.

Polish philosopher Roman Ingarden cautioned against privileging formalistic analysis of music without entering into the gendered debate:

It seems to me that one who assumed all formal elements and only formal elements to be aesthetically valuable would be doing so in order to simplify the problem and make its solution easier.³⁹

Ingarden advocated for an aesthetic valuation of timbres and sounds, and of the creation of certain moods and feelings within music. He expressed surprise that no one had bothered to create a list of what he terms “aesthetically valuable sound-constructs,” although he does not offer such a list of his own.⁴⁰ Ingarden’s ideas suggest that McClary’s assertions about the privileging of formal analysis over content analysis need not necessarily be gender-linked, as he revalues music from the standard canon of male composers, including Wagner’s operas and J. S. Bach’s fugues.

Richard Taruskin, in his five volume *Oxford History of Western Music*, first published in 2005, also wrestles with the question of why there have been no great women composers; his point of departure is Aaron Copland, infamous for his contention that perhaps there is “a mysterious element in the nature of musical creativity that runs counter

³⁸ McClary, *Feminine Endings*, 116.

³⁹ Roman Ingarden, *The Work of Music and the Problem of Its Identity* (Berkeley: University of California, 1986), 110.

⁴⁰ Ingarden, *The Work of Music*, 114.

to the nature of the feminine mind.”⁴¹ Copland is not the only or even the most recent person to make such a claim, but is one of the most famous and therefore is in the unfortunate position of being frequently cited in discussions of women composers. Taruskin begins his chapter, “Women in Music: A Historians’ Dilemma,” by quoting Copland’s inflammatory remark, analyzing it as a product of its time, and pronouncing it a “tautology” that merely recreates the mystery it attempts to solve.⁴² Taruskin also reminds us that Copland studied with the revered Nadia Boulanger, the famous Parisian composition and theory teacher, who served as guide and muse to so many successful men—and a few women—while achieving little success with her own compositions. There is a simple answer to the question of “Why?” and Taruskin covers this too: the tradition of Western Classical music is a tradition of written texts, for better or worse, and only a few upper-class women had access to the education, the supplies, and the free time required to write music down. Indeed, this is the same explanation for a lack of famous female literary figures posited by Virginia Woolf in *A Room of One’s Own*, so Taruskin offers no great revelation here. Of greater interest, however, is his interaction with the exceptional women whom he includes in his history. He advocates for “mainstreaming,” by which he implies the act of including lesser works by women composers in order to advance the political and social causes of women in the present time. He credits this practice for his decision to

⁴¹ Aaron Copland, “The Teacher: Nadia Boulanger,” in *Copland on Music* (New York: Norton, 1963), 85. Quoted in Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, vol. 2, *Music in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 78.

⁴² Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, vol. 2, *Music in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 78.

include Barbara Strozzi's cantata as a "specimen for analysis" in lieu of one by "the more famous and prolific Carissimi (or Luigi Rossi, another Roman specialist in the genre)," with the hope that "mainstreaming may constructively counteract the unfounded assumption that women are lacking in innate capacity to compose."⁴³ Unfortunately, his typically loquacious explanation undoes much of the work of his purported "mainstreaming;" by announcing that he chose to highlight Strozzi's piece to increase the presence of women composers in his voluminous history of music, he backhandedly suggests that she might not make the cut on his own list of "great composers."

Although he falls victim to some of the practices he denounces, Taruskin does provide his readers with valuable insight into the ways composers are found to be great:

The concept of artistic greatness (a far more recent concept than one might assume) is itself a gendered one. Even earlier, the concept of artistic creation was linked with the notion of the biblical Creator, traditionally a patriarchal rather than a matriarchal figure. So the question itself, like many questions that purportedly seek simple "natural" answers, is not innocent of cultural bias.⁴⁴

Taruskin's assertion that the great composers have long been associated with an aspect of the divine finds evidence in the work of Johann Georg Sulzer, who describes *Empfindung* (sentiment) as that which "makes a pleasing or displeasing impression on us, affects our desires, or awakens ideas of good or evil, the pleasing or the repugnant." Sulzer draws

⁴³ Ibid., 81.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

frequent allusions between good art and goodness, declaring the goal of the fine arts to be “a moral sentiment by which man can achieve his ethical value.”⁴⁵

Concerning the question of whether there are significant aesthetical differences inherent to the musical expression of men and women, Taruskin is surprisingly reticent. While briefly acknowledging sociological and feminist polemics between essentialist and constructivist views of artists, Taruskin largely avoids this discussion, excusing himself by arguing:

Questions of essentialism vs. constructionism, in any event, cannot be approached on the basis of a single example, and a broader empirical survey lies beyond the scope of a book like this. As in all such controversies, the burden of proof lies with those who assert the critical relevance of the issue.⁴⁶

Unlike Taruskin, Marcia J. Citron believes the question of whether music written by women is different from music written by men is critical. “This is an important question,” she explains, “because most people raise it when they begin to consider music written by women.” She cautions that attempting to relate aesthetics and creation to biology is problematic, but she intuitively suspects that a broad study of music by women composers would reveal more “fluidity and openness” than exists in music by men. Yet, after writing

⁴⁵ Johann Georg Sulzer, “Aesthetic Foundations,” in *Aesthetics and the Art of Musical Composition in the German Enlightenment. Selected Writings of Johann Georg Sulzer and Heinrich Christoph Koch*, ed. Nancy Baker and Thomas Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 28.

⁴⁶ Taruskin, *Music in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 83.

an entire book on gender and music, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, she states, “I am not coming down on either side regarding whether there is a women’s style or aesthetic.”⁴⁷

MacArthur struggles with the essentialism of feminist aesthetics as well, feeling it necessary to point out that she is discussing “women’s music,” but worrying that the label will ensure that only feminists open her book. She laments, “men’s music has always been highly valorized. Women’s music has always been defined in relation to men’s and has thus been devalued.”⁴⁸ Although MacArthur believes it is important to study women’s music and to acknowledge the gender of its composers, she does not find any significant, inherent differences in the music of men and women:

Based on the research presented in this book, I cannot make grand claims about women’s music, regardless of its socio-historical context, as being different from men’s music. Rather, my aim is to demonstrate that women’s music, which has a long history of being neglected, is deserving of the same kind of lavish attention that has been showered on men’s.⁴⁹

The issue of a “feminine style” in music is, however, always complicated by socio-historical context, as we shall see.

The socio-historical context of musicians in fascist Italy is complex, because Benito Mussolini often used music as a propaganda tool to define his idea of Italian nationalism through public concerts and on the radio.⁵⁰ Both Olivieri and Guastalla have maintained

⁴⁷ Marcia J. Citron, quoted by Carol Neuls-Bates in *Women in Music: An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present*, revised ed. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996), 307.

⁴⁸ MacArthur, *Feminist Aesthetics*, 2.

⁴⁹ MacArthur, *Feminist Aesthetics*, 3.

⁵⁰ Jasper Ridley, *Mussolini: A Biography*, (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2000), 203–205.

that Ottorino Respighi never joined the National Fascist Party; however, Harvey Sachs points out that Respighi did not need to align himself with Mussolini, because his “palatable modernism, his brilliantly attractive orchestral spectrum and the ethnocentricity of his popular tone-poems were just what the regime needed to demonstrate that progressivism and fascism were natural allies.”⁵¹ Because Respighi died before Mussolini’s reign ended, there was no opportunity for him to realign his nationalism with a more moderate political ideology.

Conductor Arturo Toscanini became outspoken against some aspects of Mussolini’s regime in ways that Respighi was not; he insisted that music should not be complicated by politics and largely attempted to ignore the administration.⁵² However, as time went on, he became more frustrated with the regime and repeatedly refused to attend receptions in his honor organized by the fascist party.⁵³ In May of 1931, he was asked to begin a concert early with national anthems in celebration of high-ranking officials who would be attending, and he refused, telling his musicians he would not allow politics to influence the character of the concert.⁵⁴ When Toscanini arrived at the venue, he was assaulted by fascist youths, including a young journalist named Leo Longanesi, who struck the conductor in the face and neck.⁵⁵ Olivieri and Respighi attended the concert and, upon learning of the

⁵¹ Harvey Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, (New York: Norton, 1987), 132.

⁵² Harvey Sachs, “The Toscanini Case,” in *Music in Fascist Italy*, 207–242.

⁵³ Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, 213.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 214.

assault, went to Toscanini's hotel, assisted with dressing his wounds, and helped Toscanini and his wife to pack their bags and leave Bologna under the cover of the night.⁵⁶

The fascist regime's relationship with Italian musicians who were men was complicated; composers and their works were celebrated when their ideologies appeared to align with the interests of the regime, and unions were established to support working musicians. However, its relationship with musicians who were women was more straightforward; they were simply ignored. In 1940, a list of officers in the National Fascist Union of Musicians—an organization which encouraged its members to put profits from concerts toward a pension fund for musicians—includes more than one-hundred men and zero women.⁵⁷ Sachs explains, "This does not mean that women were less enthusiastic about fascism than their male counterparts: it is simply one among many examples of the contempt with which women's intellectual and organizational capacities were regarded by the regime."⁵⁸

* * *

How is one to select and apply the research methods I have just described to studying Olivieri's music? One method of exploring feminine style in her music would be to take a cue from the advocates of the feminist aesthetic whom I have discussed and to analyze the forms used in her music for evidence of feminine forms, or at least an absence

⁵⁶ Elsa Respighi, interview on RAI (Radiotelevisione Italiana S.p.A.), August 1977. Quoted in Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, 215.

⁵⁷ Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, 30.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

of traditional “masculine” forms. There are no defined arias or recitatives in her opera *Samurai*, but Olivieri would hardly be the first composer to abandon these forms in opera. Wagner created operas with few formal boundaries in the late nineteenth century. In fact, Olivieri’s forms and tonal progressions seem to share many qualities with the music of her husband. This is not surprising, as she studied with him and subsequently assisted him by editing and copying his music throughout their married life. Analysis of the forms in her music suggest that it is largely consistent with men’s work of its time and that it does not break with formal norms in a more significant way than does the music of Respighi, or that of Debussy or Stravinsky—two composers she has mentioned as early influences. Just as Cixous has attempted to “let into writing what has always been forbidden up until now,” perhaps Olivieri can be seen not as attempting to create a new, feminine type of music, but to use existing models of music to include women’s stories in a new way.⁵⁹ Ultimately, I have chosen to analyze Olivieri’s work and the responses it evokes in terms of constructed socio-historic gender roles and gender bias.

Olivieri only composed music during a fraction of her long life. However, analysis of her works over time show that her identity—particularly her identity as a woman—became more pronounced in her work, as will be demonstrated. Gender was, of course, only one piece of her identity, and her complicated ethnic heritage and her identity as an educated intellectual living in the early twentieth century in Italy are also evident in her music and in her influence on Respighi. All of these identity characteristics must be considered from a historical perspective in order to fully understand the role that they

⁵⁹ Hélène Cixous, *White Ink: Interviews on Sex, Text, and Politics*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 52. Interview with Jean-Louis de Rambures, translated by Elizabeth Lindley.

played in her work. Considering Olivieri's marriage and its music gives us a window into understanding identity aesthetics in her time, but it also creates tools for understanding how identity and bias still conspire to create a hegemonic aesthetic today.

CHAPTER ONE

Tre canzoni spagnole: Heritage and Pan-Hispanic Style and Influence

Introduction

To discover the unique compositional voice of Olivieri and the influence she had over Respighi, I will begin with her earliest published works, *Tre canzoni spagnole* (Milan: Ricordi, 1919). One of these songs, “Momento,” contains a clear example of Olivieri’s contribution to her husband’s compositions—a musical theme that he borrowed fifteen years after its publication. All of her surviving compositions were influenced by him to some extent, but she had begun to work on this song outside of her lessons with Respighi. When she presented it to him, she expected a negative reaction and instead received his highest praise. Discussing this in her biography of him, she writes,

I remember that one day, not having been able to make progress with the quartet assigned to me for homework, I brought him a song, based on a Spanish text, which I had written some months previously. I was sure of his disapproval. Instead, after he heard it, he said, “This, you see, young lady, is your path. You must continue to compose in this direction.” A few days later, after he had heard two more songs that were part of *Tre canzoni su testo spagnolo*, he praised them highly. He was going to Milan and even insisted on taking them to the publisher Ricordi with the suggestion that they be printed.¹

After they married in January 1919, Olivieri frequently adopted Respighi’s harmonic style in her compositions. In fact, she once said that her proudest moment was when she

¹ Elsa Respighi, *Ottorino Respighi* (Milan: Ricordi, 1954), 86–87. [Ricordo a questo proposito che un giorno, non avendo potuto mandare avanti il quartetto assegnatomi per compito, gli portai a vedere una lirica su testo spagnolo che avevo composto alcuni mesi prima: ero sicura della sua disapprovazione e invece alla fine dell’audizione mi disse: “Questa, vede, signorina, è la sua strada: in questo senso lei deve seguitare a comporre” e dopo alcuni giorni, avendogli fatto sentire altre due liriche che formavano il gruppo di *Tre canzoni su testo spagnolo*, le lodò molto, e andando a Milano le volle portare all’editore Ricordi per chiedergli di stamparle.]

completed his *Lucrezia*, and critics could not tell which parts she had composed.² Because of the complicated nature of collaboration and influence, it is difficult to determine what constitutes Olivieri's unique musical style in her own works and what constitutes Respighi's influence. It is a worthwhile endeavor, however, to attempt to clarify what is distinctive in Olivieri's compositional voice, both because it enhances understanding of Olivieri and her music and because it gives insight into her influence on her husband's works.

Olivier's self-identification as an Italian with Mexican heritage contributed greatly to the development of her music aesthetic in *Tre canzoni spagnole*. The Mexican component of her identity was not shared with her husband, yet it appears clearly in her music. Olivieri claims that the three songs are based on folk tunes that she learned from her mother, who was born in Mexico. Respighi frequently quoted Italian folk songs, one of the many aspects of his work that allows historians to hear nationalistic propaganda in his music.³ He is not known to have set Spanish texts, but he quoted a theme from one of Olivieri's Spanish songs in an interlude of his three-act opera, *Maria Egiziaca*, which premiered at Carnegie Hall in New York in 1932. Therefore, Olivieri's use of Spanish style in her music is a clear example of her unique compositional voice and her influence on her husband's music. The couple's shared interest in folk songs of various cultures also provides background for

² Elsa Respighi, *Cinquant'anni di vita nella musica: 1905–1955* (Rome: Trevi, 1977), 209.

³ Harvey Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy* (New York: Norton, 1988), 132.

understanding their political ideologies and their relationship with Italian fascism, which Olivieri claims that neither she nor Respighi supported.⁴

Many details of Olivieri's life and heritage have been clouded by misrepresentations on the part of her biographers and by Olivieri herself, though her self-identification as an Italian with Mexican heritage is as important as genealogy in understanding Olivieri's identity—if not more so. In this chapter, I will offer correctives to previous discussions of Olivieri's Mexican and Italian origins, discuss her Spanish-language song settings in the context of her heritage and her perceptions of that heritage, and establish the ways in which her self-identity as an Italian with understanding of a pan-Hispanic view of colonial Spanish culture influenced her music.

Origins and Heritage

Olivieri's background as an Italian with colonial Spanish heritage has remained obscure, in part because it has been suppressed by her biographers. As stated in the introduction, she was born in Rome in 1894 and died in Rome in 1996 just before she would have turned 102. Leonardo Bragaglia describes Olivieri's mother, Maria Canobbio Tamés, as a descendant of “an ancient dynasty with Toltec or Aztec origins.”⁵ Potito

⁴ E. Respighi, *Cinquant'anni*, 200.

⁵ Leonardo Bragaglia, “*Ardendo vivo*”: *Elsa Respighi – Tre vite in una; Quasi un romanzo* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1983), 23. “The maternal grandmother of Elsa, born in Mazatlán in the state of Sinaloa in Mexico, had deep origins (Toltec or Aztec?) with the exuberance and the fatality of a mixed blood—Spanish, Mexican, and Indian—and with the proper regality of the last heiress of a glorious ‘caste.’” [La nonna materna di Elsa, nativa di Mazatlán nello Stato di Sinaloa nel Mexico, aveva origini lontanissimi (toltechi o aztechi?) con l’esuberanza e la fatalità di un sangue misto — spagnolo, messicano ed indiano — e con la regalità própria dell’ultima erede di una gloriosa ‘casta’.]

Pedarra supports this assertion, claiming that “Maria...was descended from a very ancient Aztec family which has since died out.”⁶ Olivieri simply states that her mother was born in Mazatlán.⁷

My research into the Mexican ancestry of Olivieri’s mother revealed that Maria Canobbio was indeed born in Mexico; however, there is no evidence that she is descended from an indigenous family. She was baptized in Mazatlán, and her father was an Italian immigrant to that region, while her mother was the daughter of a Spanish immigrant.⁸

⁶ Potito Pedarra, foreword to Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo, *Due Canzone Italiane per chitarra* (Ancona: Bèrben, 2006), 3.

⁷ E. Respighi, *Cinquant’anni*, 8. “I believe that at my crib side, the Mexican lullabies that my mother, born in Mazatlán in the Pacific, sang in her native tongue, were alternated with Wagnerian leitmotifs, intoned by my father’s beautiful voice.” [Io credo che presso la mia culla, alle nenie messicane che la mia mamma, nata a Mazatlán sul Pacifico, cantava nella sua lingua di origine, si siano alternati i leit-motiv wagneriani, accennati da mio padre con la sua bela voce.]

⁸ “México, Sinaloa, registros parroquiales, 1671–1968”, database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:NFN4-QBS> : accessed 26 September 2015), Maria Lucia Adelaida Canobbio, 1875. The baptism of Maria Lucia Adelaida Canobbio on 26 June 1875 at Santa Iglesia Cathedral in Mazatlán is found in the Catholic Church records for the Mexican province of Sinaloa in Mexico (available on familysearch.org). Her parents are listed as Ramona Tamés de Canobbio and Don Luís Canobbio; her maternal grandparents were Lucia Osuna and Juan Tamés. Olivieri reported making several trips to Mazatlán to visit her mother. One of the central buildings of historic Mazatlán is called “Portales de Canobbio” (Gates of Canobbio). The first Canobbio in the region was an Italian immigrant who opened a drugstore called “La Italiana,” which was famous for selling an “elixir of eternal youth.” The drugstore was funded through a mortgage contracted with other local businesses that acted like banks. One of these business owners was the Spanish immigrant Juan Tamés. (Rigoberto Rodríguez Benítez, “Sinaloa during the Restored Republic, 1867–1877,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona, 2001, 220, footnote.) Tomasa Osuna was the original owner of the future “Portales de Canobbio,” then known as “Portal de la Lonja.” In a census from 1866, Tomasa Osuna is the only woman registered as a merchant in Mazatlán. The census identifies both Tomasa Osuna and Juan Tamés as unmarried. After her death, Osuna bequeathed the “Portal de la Lonja” building to Ramona, a relative—likely Osuna’s daughter or niece, who was also Elsa

There is also no evidence in support of Bragaglia's assertion of Olivieri's "regal" heritage. The Spanish Dukes of Osuna never held any land or privilege in Mexico, nor is there a known Aztec noble family with the same name. I have not been able to determine how long the Osuna family had been in Mexico before Olivieri was born, but it appears they had lived there for several generations. While it is possible that they were at some point related to a younger brother of the Spanish duke or to an indigenous family, there is no direct evidence of nobility. However, the history of Olivieri's maternal family as part of the elite of Spanish Colonial America is sufficiently well documented. The Osunas, the Tamés, and the Canobbios were all wealthy and influential merchants and entrepreneurs in nineteenth-century Sinaloa, and Mazatlán was the most important American port in the Pacific during that time.⁹ Bragaglia presents an apparently accurate account of the wealth

Olivieri Sangiacomo's maternal grandmother. See Enrique Vega Ayala, "Una comerciante visionaria de La Noria," *Noroeste: El portal de Sinaloa*, March 14, 2012.

Bragaglia includes the information that Ramona was also Olivieri's middle name, in homage to her grandmother, which helps to confirm that this record belongs to Olivieri's family. See Bragaglia, "Ardendo vivo," 22. Bragaglia presents the Osuna family in Mazatlán as the improbable "Dukes of Osuna" in Mexico, with a royal Aztec lineage that would end in 1978 with the death of Olivieri's mother. See Bragaglia, "Ardendo vivo," 32. The improbability stems from the fact that the Duchy of Osuna did—and does—exist, but only in continental Spain. The Duke of Osuna is, to this day, one of the one of the highest-ranking members of Spanish nobility. See "Duques de Osuna," Biblioteca Histórica, Universidad Complutense Madrid. Accessed November 30, 2015: <http://biblioteca.ucm.es/foa/52349.php>.

At the time of the census where Tomasa Osuna appears, the Duke of Osuna was Mariano Téllez-Girón y Beaufort Spontin (1814–1882). Mariano, as the XII Duke of Osuna, was active as ambassador of the Spanish crown to the Russian court in St. Petersburg. The only possible way to associate the Iberian Osuna's with Olivieri's family is via the Codex Osuna, a colonial-era document written by central-American natives detailing their experiences with the Spanish. However, the codex is named "Osuna" solely because it was in the library of Mariano Téllez-Girón, the Duke of Osuna, at the time of his death. It is now held in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. See Manuscript Collections, Biblioteca Nacional de España. Accessed November 30, 2015. <http://www.bne.es/en/Colecciones/Manuscritos/manuscritos.html>.

⁹ Don M. Coerver, Suzanne B. Pasztor, and Robert Buffington, *Mexico: An Encyclopedia of Contemporary Culture and History*, (California: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 467.

of the Canobbio Tamés family when he states that Maria and her three sisters each received a wedding dowry of 350,000 lire, while the family fortune of 45,000,000 lire was divided between Maria's five brothers in 1906.¹⁰

FIG 1.1. Genealogy of Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo.



¹⁰ Bragaglia, "Ardendo vivo," 23.

There is some evidence that the surname “Tamés” or a close variation such as “Tamuz” comes from a Sephardic Jewish tradition.¹¹ Certainly there were Sephardic Jews who immigrated to the Americas along with Spanish Catholic immigrants. The connection is worth noting, because one of Olivieri’s *Tre canzoni spagnole*—the set based on her mother’s lullabies—appears to be a Sephardic folk song. If Olivieri had Sephardic Jewish heritage, she was either unaware of it, or failed to mention it in her writings. Given the climate in early twentieth-century Italy, it is unsurprising that Olivieri may have avoided acknowledging a Jewish heritage in her background, since the fascist regime supported anti-Semitic propaganda throughout its tenure, culminating in 1938 with the imposition of racially-based laws that had been influenced by similar laws in Germany.¹² She was well-acquainted with Bragaglia and may have even encouraged his belief in her Aztec origins.

Luís Canobbio and his family elected to return to Italy, in part to support Maria Canobbio’s studies at the Istituto del Sacro Cuore in Turin.¹³ Canobbio had been part of a migrant flux of Italians to the Americas that coincided with the turmoil of the eventual unification of Italy in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the family appears to have returned to Italy as the political turmoil died down. In 1893, Maria married Arturo Olivieri Sangiacomo (1861–1903), also from Turin. Olivieri Sangiacomo was an army

¹¹ Guilherme Faiguenboim, Paulo Valadares, and Anna Rosa Campagnano, *Dicionário Sefaradi de Sobrenomes / Dictionary of Sephardic Surnames* (Bergenfield, N.J.: Avotaynu, 2009), 401.

¹² Jasper Ridley, *Mussolini: A Biography*, (New York: Cooper Square Press, 1998), 201–206.

¹³ Bragaglia, “*Ardendo vivo*,” 23.

captain, a novelist, and a journalist. The pair moved to Rome before Olivieri was born there in 1894.

Olivieri acknowledged her Mexican family and visited her mother and extended family in Mazatlán after Respighi's death; however, she apparently saw herself as Italian, taking great pride in her birthplace and making a point of including in her memoir that she was baptized at St. John Lateran.¹⁴ The archbasilica of St. John Lateran is the cathedral of the Pope. The significance of this is hard to overlook: Olivieri saw herself as part of the elite society of Rome. Bragaglia quotes her describing herself as "romana de Roma" (Roman from Rome).¹⁵

The subjective nature and intentionality of Olivieri's self-identity is further elucidated by the actions and self-identity of her younger brother, Arturo Maria Olivieri Sangiacomo, who entered the United States in 1951, stating his birthplace as Rome, Italy, and his race as Mexican.¹⁶ Perhaps he felt that being Mexican was safer than being Italian in post-WWII United States. Arturo Maria was just as Italian as his sister, and Olivieri was just as Mexican as her brother. Both siblings had a choice of cultural identity, and the reasons behind their self-identification can only be a matter of speculation.

¹⁴ E. Respighi, *Cinquant'anni*, 256.

¹⁵ Bragaglia, "*Ardendo vivo*," 22.

¹⁶ "United States Border Crossings from Mexico to United States, 1903-1957," database, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XLJF-QYW> : accessed 13 October 2015), Arturo Maria Olivieri Sangiacomo, 13 Apr 1951; from "Border Crossings: From Mexico to U.S., 1895-1957," database and images, Ancestry (<http://www.ancestry.com> : 2006); citing arrival port San Ysidro, California, NARA microfilm publication M1767 (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.), roll 12.

Tre canzoni spagnole

Because of Olivieri's identity as a multinational or transnational person living in Italy, it is important to examine her Spanish-language music for both nationalistic Spanish elements and exoticized Spanish elements. Spain, particularly through the music of early twentieth-century composers like Albéniz, Granados, and de Falla, enjoyed a unique position as a subject of both nationalistic pride for Spanish composers and friendly exoticism for non-Spanish composers like Bizet, Debussy, and Rimsky-Korsakov, who also composed themes on Spanish ideas, often highlighting the influence of music from northern Africa.¹⁷

Olivieri composed *Tre canzoni spagnole* for voice and orchestra, inspired by the "Mexican lullabies" she had learned from her mother. "Momento" was the first to be composed, although in performance it was programmed as the second song. "Momento" is the only song of the set for which Olivieri acknowledges the poet, Joaquín Dicenta Alonso (1893–1967) of Spain.¹⁸ The fact that the poem was published in the periodical *Blanco y Negro* in Madrid, in May 1915, and not in Mexico, complicates Olivieri's claim that the entire song set was based on Mexican folk songs that she learned from her mother. Olivieri's knowledge of the literary scene in Spain could have come from her father, who enjoyed the company of other writers and poets. It is not inconceivable that he knew Joaquín Dicenta y Benedicto, the father of the younger Joaquín Dicenta. Olivieri's

¹⁷ Allan Koznin, "Manuel de Falla," in *The New York Times Essential Library: Classical Music*, (New York: Macmillan, 2004), 196.

¹⁸ Manuel Gómez García, *Diccionario Akal de Teatro*, (Madrid: Akal, 1997), 255. Dicenta Alonso was also known as Joaquín Dicenta "the younger" to avoid confusion with his father, the poet Joaquín Dicenta y Benedicto.

knowledge of somewhat obscure Spanish poetry raises the question of whether she had direct access to Spanish source material, although I have found no evidence that she traveled to Spain.

The text presents a biblically-inspired scene in which Love, personified as a pilgrim, comes to the narrator's doorstep and begs for warmth, food, and guidance. The narrator, not recognizing the pilgrim as Love, is dismissive. It is only when the pilgrim is far away that the narrator recognizes him as Love and begs him to come back and enjoy warmth and food. The pilgrim replies that he no longer needs anything and adds, "Love does not pass twice through the same place."

Olivieri took liberties with Dicenta's poem in her musical setting. By removing the lines "Le vi entrar en otra casa, / donde fué bien recibido." (I saw him entering another house, / where he was well received.) she created a darker vignette. In this new setting, Love is not allowed a welcoming home with the neighbor. Like Mary Buchanan, I initially assumed the final two songs of *Tre canzoni* contained poetry written by the composer herself.¹⁹ (Olivieri did write the text for an unrelated song she composed later in life, *La mamma povera*.) However, "La muerte del payador" is part of an epic poem written in 1885 by nineteenth-century Argentinean poet Rafael Obligado (1851–1920).²⁰ "Duérmete mi alma" is the only song of the set that features an original folk text, making it the most likely of the three to have been sung by Olivieri's mother.

¹⁹ Mary Lenn Buchanan, "The Songs of Elsa Respighi Olivieri Sangiacomo" (Dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1993), 23.

²⁰ Rafael Obligado, *Santos Vega*, (Buenos Aires: Pedro Irume, 1885).

FIG 1.2. Text and translation of “Momento.”

Momento

Amor pasó por mi puerta
en forma de peregrino;
los pies llevaba descalzos,
de harapos iba vestido.

Amor se paró en mi puerta
y suspirando* me dijo:
—Dame un poco de calor,
que vengo muerto de frío...
—Calor que mi hogar produce
para mi lo necesito.
—Dame de yantar, si tienes,
que ha tiempo que no he comido...
—El pan que en mi casa guardo
no parto con los mendigos.
—Ciego soy; si de otra puerta
me mostraras el camino...
—Enhoramala se marche,
que yo no soy lazarillo.
Amor me volvió la espalda
lanzando al aire un suspiro.
Amor estaba muy lejos
al ser de mí conocido.
—¡Ven, que hay calor en mi hogar;
ven á yantar, peregrino!
—Con Dios quede el impiadoso,
que ya nada necesito.

[Le vi entrar en otra casa,
donde fue bien recibido.
Al verle otra vez salir,
llamé al Amor dando gritos:]**

—¡Vuelve otra vez á mi puerta!
¡No prosigas tu camino!
El, riéndose, á lo lejos,

Moment

Love came to my door
in the guise of a pilgrim;
his feet were bare,
he was dressed in rags.

Love stood at my door
and sighing said to me:
—Give me some heat,
for I am dying from the cold...
—The heat that my home produces
I for myself need it.
—Give some dinner if you have it,
Because for long I haven't eaten...
—The bread I keep in my house
I don't share it with beggars.
—I am blind, to another door
could you show me the way...
—This is your time to leave,
for I am not a blind man's guide.
Love turned his back on me
tossing in the air a sigh.
Love was very far away
when I recognized him.
—Come, for there's heat in my home;
come and dine, pilgrim!
—With God be the merciless,
for I no longer need anything.

[I saw him entering another house,
where he was well received.
Seeing him come out again,
I called for Love screaming:]

—Come back again to my door!
Do not go on your way!
And he, laughing in the distance.

esta palabra me dijo:

—El Amor no pasa dos
veces por un mismo sitio.

Amor pasó por mi puerta
en forma de peregrino;
los pies llevaba descalzos,
de harapos iba vestido...

these words said to me:

“Love does not pass twice
through one place.”

Love came to my door
in the guise of a pilgrim;
his feet were bare,
he was dressed in rags...

* *The original has “tristemente.”*

** *Olivieri omits this verse.*

The three songs each include pentatonic melodies, but otherwise feature distinctly different styles. The major, open harmonies and canonical textures of “Momento” may not sound particularly Spanish to those familiar with the typical Spanish folk idioms common in music from the *fin-de-siècle*. However, the other two songs do make use of more well-known Spanish attributes. Their main traits include rhythms common in dances from Spain and the Spanish colonies and a primitivist-type sound conveyed through the open fifths and parallel movement. They tend harmonically towards toward the Phrygian mode and make frequent use of the so-called Andalusian cadence, which is reminiscent of cadential progressions in the Flamenco-Spanish tradition.²¹ It is important to note that while this chord progression appears across musical styles and eras in the music of composers as disparate as J. S. Bach and Andrew Lloyd Weber, it is its use at the end of phrases, where the final major chord (seen in Example 1.1 as E-major) is heard as the tonic that calls to

²¹ Michael Tezner, *Analytical Studies in World Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 2006), 97.

mind the Flamenco-Spanish tradition. In many other musical styles, the progression would be heard as a half-cadence (ending on the dominant) in a minor key.

EX 1.1. Andalusian Cadence.



The main theme of “Momento” is pentatonic. This first section creates the illusion of an inverted canon at the fourth between the accompaniment motive and the vocal line, although strict inversion does not appear. There is, however, a canon between the voice and the accompaniment in mm. 5–13: the piano echoes the vocal line at the distance of a measure (see Example 1.2). A similar section ends the song, and an abbreviated version in A-flat appears in the middle, creating a modified-rondo form.

EX 1.2. Olivieri, “Momento,” mm. 1–10.²²

Molto vivace

ff

A-mor pa-só por mi puer-ta en for-

mf

- ma de pe-re-gri-no; los pies lle-va-ba des-cal-zos,

The other sections contain frequent rising fifths, fourths, and even a tri-tone, as variations on the original motives appear. The climax is accompanied by opposing motion (seen in Example 1.3) between the vocal line and the bass to a resounding and unstable F-minor chord with a C in the bass and the addition of the E-flat as the seventh. Olivieri would go on to use similar opposing motion at the climax of “La muerte del payador” (see

²² Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo, “Momento,” from *Tre canzoni* for voice and orchestra, version for voice and piano (Milan: Ricordi, 1919).

Example 1.7.), but in the latter case the motion outlines an Andalusian cadence that confirms the Flamenco-Spanish influence in that song. This harmonic detail, along with the pentatonic melodies and contrapuntal writing cause “Momento” to sound the least Spanish of the three songs. The pentatonic melodies hold the possibility of indigenous Aztec influence, but there is no evidence that they are taken from any specific folk song, in spite of Olivieri’s claim that the melody is from a Mexican lullaby.

EX 1.3. Olivieri, “Momento,” mm. 60-61.

– mor no pa – sa dos ve – ces por un mis – mo

f
m. s.

While “La muerte del payador” contains some parallel movement and modal harmonies similar to those that Respighi used in his songs, it also features ornaments and scales found in traditional flamenco music. Olivieri had apparently learned these elements of flamenco music from listening to Spanish folk songs prior to meeting Respighi.²³ Because of this and because of the strong probability of native Spanish music influences on Mexico before and during the nineteenth century, it appears likely that Olivieri’s mother’s

²³ “Adriano’s Conversations with Elsa Respighi,” in Rome, September 12, 1977, transcribed at <http://adrianomusic.com/elsa1.html>. Accessed December 28, 2013. (See note 18 on Adriano.)

“Mexican lullabies” derive from the Spanish folk music tradition. None of the songs feature specific flamenco dance rhythms; however, “La muerte del payador,” in particular, makes use of a left-hand accompaniment with rhythms that convey a sense of Spanish dance. The melodies tend to descend, rather than ascend, feature few skips, and are ornamented in a quasi-baroque style. There are also frequent appearances of the Andalusian cadence.

As explained above, for “La muerte del payador,” Olivieri set two stanzas from a poem by Argentinean Rafael Obligado (1851–1920). The larger poem is titled *Santos Vega* and is divided in four cantos, each with its individual title: “El alma del payador,” “La prenda del payador,” “El himno del payador,” and “La muerte del payador.” It is considered one of the masterpieces of Argentinian literature.²⁴ The epic poem chronicles the legend of Santos Vega, an Argentinean gaucho and payador (i.e., singing cowboy), who is said to have died after losing a singing competition with the devil. Olivieri uses the antepenultimate and final stanzas of the poem, omitting the stanza in which the actual death of Santos Vega is described. This conciseness adds dramatic tension, as it transforms a narrative into a lament.

²⁴ Edward Hale Bierstadt, *Three Plays of the Argentine* (New York: Duffield and Company, 1920), xxiii.

FIG 1.3. Text and translation of “La muerte del payador.”

La muerte del payador

— “Adiós, luz del alma mía,
adiós, flor de mis llanuras,
manantial de las dulzuras
que mi espíritu bebía;
adiós, mi única alegría,
dulce afán de mi existir;
Santos Vega se va a hundir
en lo inmenso de esos llanos...
¡Lo han vencido! ¡Llegó, hermanos,
el momento de morir!”

[Aún sus lágrimas cayeron
en la guitarra, copiosas,
y las cuerdas temblorosas
a cada gota gimieron;
pero súbito cundieron
del gajo ardiente las llamas,
y trocado entre las ramas
en serpiente, Juan Sin Ropa
arrojó de la alta copa
brillante lluvia de escamas.]

Ni aun cenizas en el suelo
de Santos Vega quedaron,
y los años dispersaron
los testigos de aquel duelo;
pero un viejo y noble abuelo
así el cuento terminó:
— “Y si cantando murió
aquel que vivió cantando,
fue, decía suspirando,
porque el Diablo lo venció.”

The Death of the Singing Cowboy

— “Goodbye, light of my soul,
goodbye, flower of my plains,
wellspring of the sweetness,
that my spirit drank;
goodbye, my only joy,
sweet desire of my existence;
Santos Vega will be plunged
in the immensity of those plains...
He is defeated! Arrived, my brothers,
is the moment of dying!”

[Still his tears fell
copiously, on the guitar,
and the trembling strings
with each drop they moaned;
but suddenly the flames
from the burning branch spread,
and shifted between the branches
as a serpent, Juan Sin Ropa
threw from the tree top
a glistening shower of flakes.]

Not even ashes were left
of Santos Vega on the ground,
and years dispersed
the witnesses of that duel;
but an old and noble grandfather
thus the story ended:
— “And if singing died
he who lived singing,
it was, he said sighing,
because the Devil beat him.

“La muerte del payador” is initially pentatonic, but largely in the Aeolian mode, centered on F, with excursions to other minor-sounding modes correlating to the narrative course of the poem. The piece is in a simple triple meter and begins with a staccato pattern outlining the octave F and its fifth. The song begins *pianissimo*, with a pattern in the left-hand in three that utilizes a repetition, which gives a dance-like feel. These rhythms, exemplified by Example 1.4, initiate the Spanish feel of the piece.

EX 1.4. Olivieri, “La muerte del payador,” mm. 1–5.²⁵

The first motive is a descending minor third on the word “adios” (good-bye). The motive reappears throughout the piece on a number of different words, including “mia” (my), “llanuras” (plains), “vencido” (defeated), and again on a repeat of “adios.” The descending third appears to be associated with the defeat of Santos Vega and is expanded into a descending Phrygian tetrachord on the dominant in the left hand of the accompaniment, outlining an Andalusian cadence on the text “dulce afán de mi existir” (sweet desire of my existence), as seen in Example 1.5.

²⁵ Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo, “La muerte del payador,” from *Tre canzoni* for voice and orchestra, version for voice and piano (Milan: Ricordi, 1919).

EX 1.5. Olivieri, “La muerte del payador,” mm. 22–24.

dul - ce a - fan de mi e - xi - stir; *a tempo*

rit. *p espress.*

The same tetrachord appears after a modulation to E-flat minor, this time accompanying the text “los testigos de aquel duelo” (the witnesses of that duel).

EX 1.6. Olivieri, “La muerte del payador,” m. 44.

dim. e rall.

los te - sti - gos de a - quel due - lo;

dim. e rall.

Finally, the motive is heard as a descending pentachord at the climax—the moment of the devil’s victory—on the text “porque el Diablo lo venció!” (because the Devil defeated him!).

EX 1.7. Olivieri, “La muerte del payador,” mm. 57–58.

por-que el Dia - blo lo ven - ció!

ff

cresc.

con 8

ff

In “La muerte del payador,” the pentatonic melody fosters an ambiguous sense of national style, as it could be heard as a primitivist depiction of an indigenous American culture—an idea that is highlighted by the story of Obligado’s *Santos Vega*, a legend that reflects both Spanish colonial and indigenous American influence. The dance-like rhythms and Phrygian mode have a similarly dualistic function, resulting in music that is extremely well-suited to the Argentinian origins of its text.

In contrast, the text of the heartbreaking lullaby “Duérmete mi alma,” the third and final song of the set, appears to be a traditional Sephardic text. In a publication titled *Estudio sobre el canto popular castellano*, from 1925, Gonzalo Castrillo presents the earliest transcription of the folksong on which the song is based. The text is the same that Olivieri set, it shares a key with the opening of her song, and the contours of the melodies are the same, making it the likely source of her song. Castrillo credits the transcription to the fieldwork of Manuel Manrique de Lara (1863–1929), who in 1911 compiled Spanish

folksongs found in Eastern Europe. Castrillo states that Manrique de Lara found this particular song in the Sephardic neighborhood of Thessaloniki, in Greece.²⁶ The same information was presented in 1927 by Eduardo López Chavarri, who published the same transcription with the same attribution in his book *Música popular española*.²⁷ Both Castrillo and López Chavarri express admiration for the uniqueness of this example of Sephardic folksong in their work from the 1920s, so it is unlikely that both the melody and the verse were part of any previously published collection of Spanish folksong.

FIG 1.4. “Duérmete mi alma,” in *Estudio sobre el canto popular castellano*, by Gonzalo Castrillo.



Olivieri's *Tre canzoni spagnole* were first performed in 1917 in Rome. Although Lara's transcriptions date from the 1910s, they were not widely available outside of Spain,

²⁶ Gonzalo Castrillo, *Estudio sobre el canto popular castellano* (Palencia: Imprenta de la Federación Católico-Agraria, 1925), 64–65.

²⁷ Eduardo López Chavarri, *Música popular española* (Barcelona: Labor, 1927), 105.

which suggests that Olivieri's knowledge of the song was solely through oral tradition, via her mother. (Or, as speculated earlier, that she had direct access to Spanish sources, which she did not discuss in any of her writings.) Olivieri writes

I believe that at my crib side Wagnerian leitmotifs, intoned by my father's beautiful voice, alternated with the Mexican lullabies my mother used to sing in her native tongue. I cannot say, however, that the famous themes triumphed over the Indian-Hispanic melodies. As a matter of fact, while a taste for the music of faraway countries and remote civilizations has remained with me, I have always been decidedly anti-Wagnerian.²⁸

The apparent rarity of the Sephardic folksong "Duérmete mi alma" contrasts with Olivieri's casual reference to "Mexican lullabies." If Olivieri's song is a setting based on a version of this folksong as sung by her mother (and not on the transcription), then it appears that the same poem with the same tune was sung both in Thessaloniki, Greece and in Mazatlán, Mexico at the turn of the century. It also creates one more layer of identity: the possibility that Olivieri had (and was aware of having) Sephardic Jewish heritage, coming from her mother's maternal grandfather, Juan Tamés, as described above.

The poem depicts a stark scenario: a mother sings to her child about the child's father who has left his family for "la blanca niña" (the white girl). The racial language in the text suggests that the mistress is of European origin, while the narrator is not. Without knowing the references in both Castrillo and López Chavarri, it would be tempting to place this text in the obvious setting of Mexico, in which case the narrator would have indigenous heritage—as Olivieri's biographers have insisted she did. Accepting the Sephardic origin of

²⁸ E. Respighi, *Ottorino Respighi*, 84. [Io credo che sulla mia culla si siano spesso alternate le nenie messicane che la mamma mi cantava nella sua lingua d'origine con i *leit-motive* delle opere wagneriane accennati dal papà con bella voce. Ma non posso dire che i temi famosi abbiano trionfato sulle melodie indo-spagnole: di fatto in me è rimasto il gusto per le musiche di paesi lontani e di civiltà remote, mentre sono sempre stata decisamente antiwagneriana.]

the song forces the listener to envision a concept of the Other that is closer to Europe; one that becomes uncomfortably close to Olivieri's lifetime, as Jews were banned from public office and stripped of other civil rights in 1938, toward the end of Mussolini's fascist regime.²⁹ Olivieri does not discuss the racial implications of the song or how they relate to her own identity and self-perception.

FIG 1.5. Text and translation of "Duérmete mi alma."

Duérmete, mi alma

Duérmete, mi alma,
duérmete, mi vida,
que tu padre el malo
se fue con la blanca niña
y nuevo amor.

Yo me fue tras él
por ver donde iba,
y lo vi entrar
en donde la blanca niña
y nuevo amor.

Duérmete mi alma,
duérmete, mi vida,
que tu padre viene
donde la linda amiga
y nuevo amor.

Yo me fue atrás
por ver lo que aria
volví me a mi casa
triste y desvalida
y nuevo amor.
Duérmete, mi alma,
Duérmete, mi vida!

Go to sleep, my soul

Go to sleep, my soul,
Go to sleep, my life,
Your father the bad one
Went away with the white girl
And new love.

I went after him,
To see where he was going,
And saw him enter
To where the white girl was,
And new love.

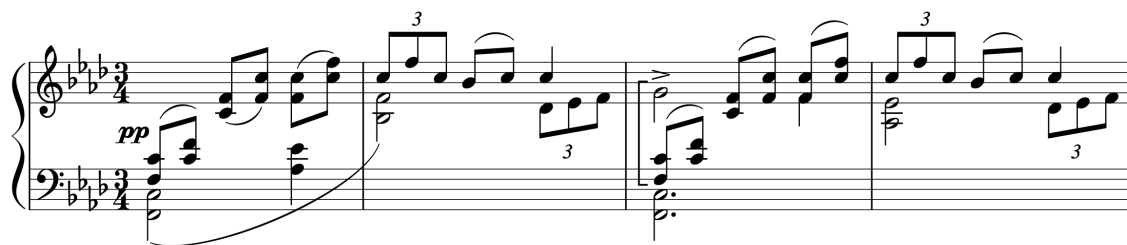
Go to sleep, my soul,
Go to sleep, my life,
Your father comes back
From his fair friend,
And new love.

I went back
To see what he would do
I returned to my house
Sad and helpless
And new love.
Go to sleep, my soul,
Go to sleep, my life!

²⁹ Giuseppe Finaldi, *Mussolini and Italian Fascism*, (New York: Routledge, 2013), Chapter 7.

Olivieri's "Duérmete mi alma" begins and ends in F-Aeolian, a complement to "La muerte del payador," which sets the two songs as bookends of the full set. The piece begins quietly, but with a steady movement in open fifths. In the first measures, this calls to mind the primitivist, pentatonic sound also found in "La muerte del payador." An instrumental melody breaks through the pentatonic sound and sets the lament firmly in Aeolian, or natural minor. As referenced above, *Tre canzoni spagnole* were initially composed for orchestra, and the reduction by Olivieri maintains an orchestral texture, as shown in Example 1.8.

EX 1.8. Olivieri, "Duérmete mi alma," mm. 1-4.³⁰



The opening melodic lines of the song are similar to Lara's transcription, but not an exact match. Olivieri's version proceeds down from C to B-flat on the word "mi" before moving up to the D-flat for "alma." In Lara's version, the D-flat appears on the word "mi." Additionally, Lara's version contains a descending tetrachord from C to G on the word "alma." Olivieri's version skips the G to descend to an F and then ventures back up to repeat the starting pitch. The coincidence of the transcription and Olivieri's setting being in the same key is intriguing; however, the alteration of the melody and the sheer unlikelihood of

³⁰ Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo, "Duérmete mi alma," from *Tre canzoni* for voice and orchestra, version for voice and piano (Milan: Ricordi, 1919).

familiarity with the transcription suggest that Olivieri simply learned a different version of the folk song.

EX 1.9. Olivieri, “Duérmete mi alma,” mm. 9–16.

The musical score for "Duérmete mi alma" by Olivieri, measures 9–16, is presented in two systems. The key signature is E-flat major (three flats) and the time signature is 3/4. The vocal line is in the upper staff, and the piano accompaniment is in the lower staff. The first system (measures 9–12) begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The vocal line has the lyrics "Duér - me te mi al - - ma". The piano accompaniment features a triplet of eighth notes in the right hand and a triplet of eighth notes in the left hand, marked *molto espressivo*. The second system (measures 13–16) begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The vocal line has the lyrics "Duér - me te mi vi - - da". The piano accompaniment continues with similar triplet patterns. The score ends with a triplet of eighth notes in the right hand and a triplet of eighth notes in the left hand, marked *p*.

The next part of the song differs rather dramatically from Castrillo’s transcription. Here, the textual drama intensifies as it is revealed that the child’s father has left for his new lover. Accordingly, the dynamic level increases to a *mezzo forte* and the key shifts down a half-step to E-Aeolian. Olivieri’s melody is quite different from Lara’s, with two leaps of a perfect fourth up to E.

EX 1.10. Olivieri, “Duérmete mi alma,” mm. 17–25.

The musical score for "Duérmete mi alma" by Olivieri, measures 17–25, is written in F minor (three flats) and 3/4 time. It consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line begins with a long note on "da" (measure 17), followed by a rest, then "que tu pa - dre el" (measures 18–20). The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line and chords in the right hand. Dynamic markings include *ppp*, *mf*, and *p*. There are also triplet markings in the piano part.

The melodic content of Olivieri’s “Duérmete mi alma” does not contain the last melodic line of Lara’s transcription. However, it is interesting to note that a similar melodic line appears in “La muerte del payador,” discussed above. The modified ascending line, associated with the text “se fue con la blanca niña” appears above the first descending tetrachord, accompanying the text “dulce afán de mi existir” as was shown in Example 1.5. The modified descending line appears with the text “el momento de morir.” The melodies, again, are not an exact match for Lara’s transcription, and there is no way to know if the melody Olivieri was working with was the same or different from Lara’s version. However, she was working on the songs at the same time, and both are set primarily in the key of F-minor. She may have decided to divide the melody between the two songs.

EX 1.11. Olivieri, “La muerte del payador,” mm. 34–35.

dim. rall. 1º Tempo *p*

el mo-men-to de mo - rir!

dim. rall. 1º Tempo

It is probable that Olivieri took liberties with the melody of “Duérmete mi alma” as she knew it and even more likely that she expanded and developed the harmonic and textural properties of the piece. The song frequently includes modal harmonies and cannot strictly be discussed in terms of tonality, but the harmonies suggest such keys as F-minor, E-minor, C-major, and A-flat major. Such a range of keys is not typical of folk songs, and they are not present in Lara’s transcription of “Duérmete mi alma.” The harmonic range, including modality and parallel motion, is more likely influenced by Respighi’s harmonic style and that of other composers Olivieri mentions as influential on her style, notably Debussy.

Other evidence of Spanish elements in “Duérmete mi alma” include a lowered second suggesting the Phrygian mode and the Andalusian cadence. The lowered second is a C-natural leading to B-minor, which appears as a pseudo-dominant in an otherwise E-minor section. The key signature in this section still denotes F-minor, and the C appears as natural, rather than lowered.

EX 1.12. Olivieri, “Duérmete mi alma,” mm. 27–29.

animando *p* *cresc.*

Yome fue trás el

p subito *cresc.*

The C is emphasized so that it sounds as part of the chord, which otherwise appears as a dominant seventh chord on B. This creates a flat-2 appoggiatura to the tonic chord in the resolution at the climax of each strophe, a *fortissimo* cry of despair accompanied by accompanied by a minor-key *gruppetto* embellishment, which also has a particularly Spanish sound in this context.

EX 1.13. Olivieri, “Duérmete mi alma,” mm. 33–35.

- trar en don - de la blan - ca

ff *p*

ff *p subito*

più fino al

In the second strophe, the figuration in the accompaniment creates an emphasis that sounds as a dotted eighth-note rhythm, though it is accomplished with a sixteenth-note pattern. This is overlaid with an instrumental melody that makes use of triplets, as can be

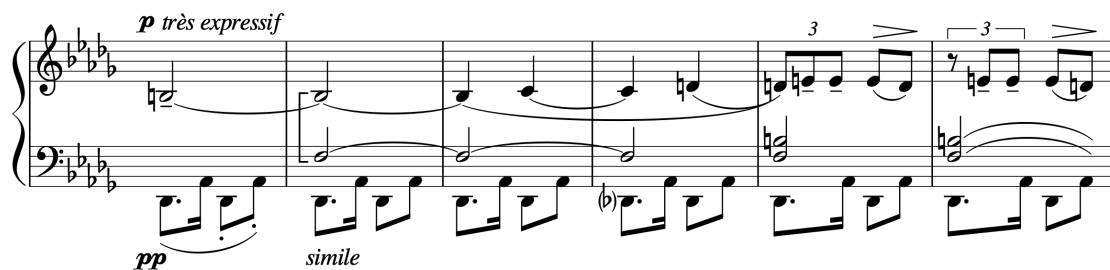
seen in Example 1.14. The polyrhythms create a sense of a Hispanic dance, such as the tango or habanera, while not making strict use of a particular rhythmic pattern associated with these dances.

EX 1.14. Olivieri, “Duérmete mi alma,” mm. 58–60.



These types of rhythmic patterns were also used by Claude Debussy to denote Spanish style in pieces such as his piano prelude “...La puerta del Vino.” The rhythms are demonstrated in Example 1.15.

EX 1.15. Debussy, “...La puerta del Vino” (from *Préludes*, Book 2, No. 3), mm. 5–10.³¹



³¹ Claude Debussy, “...La puerta del Vino,” *Préludes*, Book 2 (Paris: Durand, 1913)

“...La puerta del Vino” also features quick ornaments and flattened tones suggesting the Phrygian mode and Andalusian cadence, all of which make reference to the flamenco style of music often heard in southern Spain, where the prelude is set. Sephardic folk music and flamenco music have many elements in common, although the exact origins of the two musics and their influence on each other largely remains a mystery.³²

Respighi’s quotation of Olivieri

Respighi’s use of Italian melodies has been cited as evidence of his nationalistic tendencies—as well it should—although nationalism is not the only or most important element in his full body of work. Respighi joined with four other composers in 1911 to create “la lega dei Cinque,” as an analog to the Mighty Handful from Russia.³³ The group published a manifesto titled “Per un novo Risorgimento” (For a new Renaissance), which encouraged artists to look beyond opera to the music and art of Italy’s past as inspiration for a new nationalist movement. Respighi was proud of his Italian heritage and drew from its history to create works, but he also showed interest in music and art from other cultures, including a theme from Olivieri’s *Tre canzoni spagnole*—the most direct example of her contribution to his music while he was still alive.

³² Anna G. Piatrowska, “Theories on the Origins of Flamenco,” in *Gypsy Music in European Culture: From the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2013), 78.

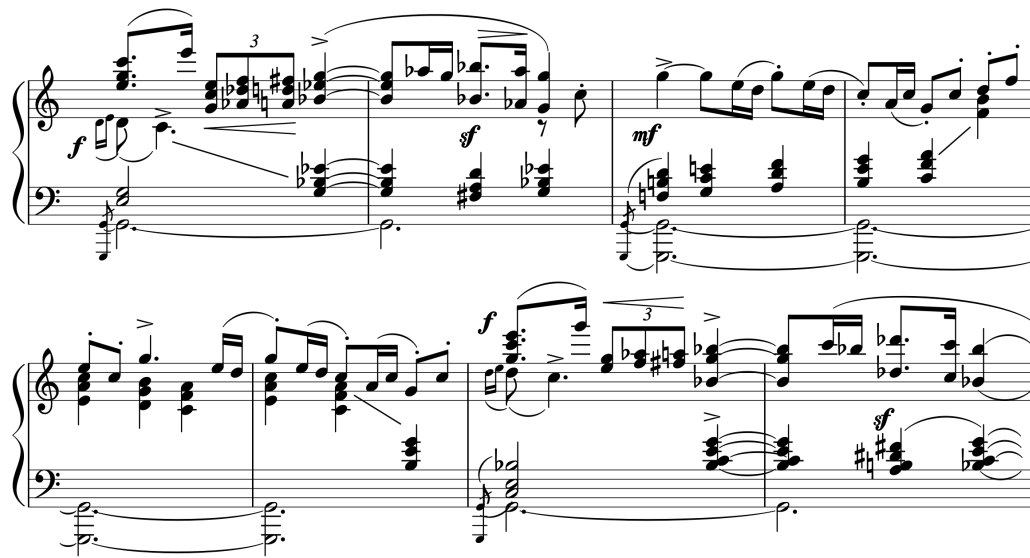
³³ John C.G. Waterhouse, *Gian Francesco Malipiero (1882-1973): The Life, Times and Music of a Wayward Genius*, (Routledge, 2013), 14–15.

Respighi scholar Potito Pedarra states that Olivieri told him and Sergio Martinotti, in confidence, that “her husband had requested from her the theme of the second Spanish song and made it the ‘Primo interludio’ of his *Maria Egiziaca*.” Olivieri also professed her belief that this would be the only piece of her music that would live on after her—because of Respighi’s use of it.³⁴

The theme that Respighi uses comes from the accompaniment of Olivieri’s version in “Momento.” In her song, the melody begins with an ascending fifth and continues in an apparent pentatonic mode with the exception of the F in measure 3. This melody is accompanied by trills that maintain the same pentatonic mode, C pentatonic. Respighi’s “Interludio” features the exact same melody in a different meter—4/4 in “Momento,” 3/4 in the “Interludio”—and in a completely different harmonic context, which can be seen in Example 1.16.

³⁴ Potito Pedarra, “Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo: la vita, le opere,” in *Gli anniversari musicali del 1997*, ed. Potito Pedarra and Piero Santi (Milan: Centro Culturale Rosetum, 1997), 635. [Elsa confidò a Sergio Martinotti e a me che il marito le aveva chiesto il tema della seconda canzone spagnola “e ne fece il *Primo Interludio* della sua *Maria Egiziaca*. ‘Sarà quella l’unica pagina della mia musica che sopravvivrà a me, per merito del Maestro.’”] See also Bragaglia, “*Ardendo vivo*,” 45.

EX 1.16. Respighi, *Maria Egiziaca*, “Primo interludio,” mm. 1–8.³⁵



The shared theme appears only in the “Primo Interludio” of *Maria Egiziaca*, not anywhere else in the opera. It is presented in the key of C-major and shifts to the relative minor mode partway through the interlude. At the end of the interlude, the theme has been transformed and is set harmonically in A-minor, with a pedal C. It is also slowed down from its initial tempo, as can be seen in Example 1.17.

³⁵ Ottorino Respighi, *Maria Egiziaca: trittico per concerto*, libretto by Claudio Guastalla (Milan: Ricordi, 1931).

EX 1.17. Respighi, *Maria Egiziaca*, “Primo interludio,” mm. 32–41.

32 **Meno mosso** ♩ = 112

più p

dim.

pp

rall.

It appears that Respighi was only interested in the main theme that appears in the accompaniment of “Memento.” He may have seen the motive as the musical representation of the character of Love in Olivieri’s setting, making it an ideal motive for the music of an interlude that takes Saint Mary of Egypt from Alexandria to Jerusalem. The text from St. Mary that heads the interlude reads

And throughout that journey, my life was nothing if not dissolved in laughter and songs and vain games, and to inebriate myself to adultery and other bad and ugly things. The waves, when I think back, I quite marvel at how the sea supported my many iniquities and did not open and swallow me alive. But, as I see it, the almighty and merciful God was waiting for my penance...³⁶

³⁶ Ottorino Respighi, *Maria Egiziaca*, 33. [E per tutto quel viaggio la mia vita non fu altro se non ridere e dissolvermi in canti e in giuochi vani e inebriarmi a fare adulteri ed altre cattive e laide cose... Onde, quando mi ripenso, mi meraviglio non poco come il mare sostenne tante

Mary of Egypt's voyage is, symbolically, a journey from lust and depravity to penitence and redemption. The Love-motive transitions in this interlude from fast to slow and from major to minor, creating a symbolism that no one but Respighi and Olivieri would recognize, as very few people would have been familiar enough with "Momento" to recognize the melody in the interlude. Olivieri did not mention Respighi's use of her work either in her biography of Respighi or in her memoir, *Cinquant'anni*. Thus, this shared melody appears to have only been intended as a private exchange between the couple—an enduring memory of the day when Respighi recognized the young Olivieri as a composer with a highly individual and expressive voice.³⁷

Olivieri does not indicate which song was the first to be presented, but Bragaglia identifies it as "Momento."³⁸ It is not difficult to conclude that this song—and the theme used later by Respighi—had special meaning for the couple. Respighi also encouraged Olivieri to arrange the three songs for orchestra. It was in this version that they were premiered, on June 2, 1917, at the Accademia di Santa Cecilia. The soprano was Maria Pia Mancina, and Olivieri herself made her debut as a conductor—although she readily admitted she had no talent for leading an orchestra.³⁹ Ricordi published the voice and piano score in 1919.⁴⁰

mie iniquità, e non si aperse e inghiottimi viva. Ma, come io veggio, l'onnipotente e pietoso Iddio m'aspettava a penitenza...]

³⁷ E. Respighi, *Ottorino Respighi*, 86–87.

³⁸ Bragaglia, "Ardendo vivo," 66.

³⁹ E. Respighi, *Cinquant'anni*, 51.

⁴⁰ Potito Pedarra, "Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo: la vita, le opere," 655.

Although Respighi utilized the theme from “Momento” in *Maria Egiziaca*, he does not appear to have been interested in any other Spanish-origin folk songs. Olivieri indicated in numerous sources (biographies, radio interviews, letters) that Respighi asked her for musical themes, including those from Italian folk songs, as well as for her advice regarding music he had written while he was still in the process of writing it. Olivieri was Respighi’s main source for Italian folksongs after their wedding, although he had been interested in vernacular languages of rural Italy prior to that time, and she describes singing her favorite childhood melodies at his request for use in *Pini di Roma*.⁴¹

It is difficult to discover Respighi’s inspirations and influences prior to his acquaintance with Olivieri, because she remains his most dedicated biographer, she did not know him before 1915, and she was biased by her desire to present him as a great composer and great person. Donald McCleod has described Respighi as “something of a ladies’ man [who] once had to escape from a jealous rival by crawling along a window ledge in the snow.” He adds that Olivieri was not the only woman capable of inspiring Respighi and claims, “there is evidence that his songs were influenced by some of these other young women, as well.”⁴² Respighi was already interested in folk songs and vernacular languages of Italy. For instance, he composed *Quattro rispetti toscani* on texts given to him by “un’amica fiorentina”—the Argia Pini to whom the set is dedicated, in 1915.⁴³ The texts for

⁴¹ E. Respighi, *Ottorino Respighi*, 149.

⁴² Quoted by David Heald, <http://www.musicweb-international.com/respighi/radio3.htm>

⁴³ Elio Battaglia et al., *Ottorino Respighi*, (Turin: ERI, 1985), 38.

all four songs are by Arturo Birga (1871–1959), a contemporary of Respighi who wrote poetry in the Tuscan dialect.⁴⁴ As mentioned above, Respighi had joined a “short-lived anti-establishment pressure-group—the ‘lega dei Cinque’ whose other members were [Ildebrando] Pizzetti, [Gian Francesco] Malipiero, [Giannotto] Bastianelli and Renzo Bossi.”⁴⁵ Although his own success as a composer was mixed, he was installed as a professor of composition at the Accademia di Santa Cecilia in 1913. In 1915, the year he met Olivieri as a student, he began composing the first of his nationalistic tone poems, *Fontane di Roma*. Respighi grew up with the music of Puccini and Mascagni, and he and other members of the “1880 Generation” inherited a sense of pride in Italian opera and its heritage as a sort of opposition to the German Romantic hegemony that dominated Western musical discourse at the turn of the century.⁴⁶

Although his symphonic poems remain Respighi’s most popular works, Olivieri insists that he was prouder of his vocal works, which were more indicative of his compositional style.⁴⁷ While some of his vocal works did include folk songs and Italian idioms, others were divorced from any sense of nationalism. *Il Tramonto*, a setting of Roberto Ascoli’s translation of Percy Bysshe Shelley’s poem, “The Sunset,” would later become a standard in Olivieri’s repertoire, but Respighi began composing it in 1914, before

⁴⁴ Arturo Birga, *Monologhi in vernacolo pisano*, (Pisa: Pizanelli, 1922).

⁴⁵ Waterhouse, “Respighi, Ottorino,” *Grove*.

⁴⁶ Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, 101–122.

⁴⁷ E. Respighi, *Ottorino Respighi*, 79.

the couple met.⁴⁸ The song for voice and orchestra was premiered by Chiarina Fino Savia at the Accademia di Santa Cecilia in 1918. During that break, he returned home to Bologna and focused on composing, also setting another Ascoli translation of a Shelley poem, “The Sensitive Plant,” for voice and orchestra.

It is not difficult to infer why Respighi was attracted to these poems about loneliness; he was quite overwhelmed by the noise and bustle of the big city of Rome, and very much welcomed the respite at home. In a letter written from Bologna on May 23, 1914, he states

I’ve started [composing] again. As soon as I’m back in my own surroundings the ideas come crowding in so easily, but when I go to Rome my brain closes up and however much I try I can’t think of a note – nothing. When shall I be able to stay quietly at home? This is my only dream, yet I am forced to spend my life far away.⁴⁹

Respighi studied as many languages as he could find time to study, and was particularly interested in the poetry of these languages. Olivieri states,

Passionately fond of reading, he collected books from everywhere he could and arrayed them in the rough fir bookcase, his pride and joy, which he had made with his own hands. Pride of place on the shelves was reserved for dictionaries of the various foreign languages he was studying, for even while a boy Ottorino showed a marked aptitude for languages and keen curiosity to learn something of the less familiar ones.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Elsa Respighi, *Ottorino Respighi*, 73.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 72. [Mi sono rimesso al lavoro. Appena sono nel mio ambiente le idee mi vengono con tanta facilità, e quando torno a Roma mi si chiude il cervello e per quanto lo sprema non mi dà una nota, niente. Quando potrò essere tranquillo a casa mia? Non sogno che questo e sono sempre costretto a starne lontano.]

⁵⁰ Ibid., 15. [Amante della lettura e dei libri, cerca in tutti i modi di procurarseli e li dispone in bella vista nella rozza biblioteca di abete che si è costruita con le sue mani e che forma per molti anni il suo orgoglio. Nella scansia del piccolo studio prendono posto, tra i primi,

Respighi also put his language skills to use when teaching violin lessons in Russia and accompanying vocal classes in Germany. He apparently won over the New York Philharmonic in 1926 by speaking to “each player in his own language (there were Russians, Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, etc.)”⁵¹ Late in his career, Respighi published scholarly articles in several different languages, including “Gedanken über die Oper ohne Orchester,” for the German periodical *Das Theater* in 1936, and “Marionettes as Seen by an Italian,” for the American journal *Modern Music* in 1926.⁵²

Respighi’s interests in Italian language and poetry clearly had a nationalistic component; however, the inclusion of other languages and cultures suggests a more nuanced approach to the subject as a multi-faceted interest in culture and ideas. Just as it is true that Olivieri’s identity as an Italian woman with Mexican heritage is a complicated, transnational post-colonial identity, so it is also true that Respighi’s identity as an Italian composer with sympathies to nationalist movements was complicated by his interest in the musics and cultures of those from other lands. The temptation to analyze any one of his pieces, let alone his entire output, as supportive of Mussolini and the Italian fascist regime is myopic, and the tendency to do so has created a critical bias against Respighi.⁵³

I vocabolari delle diverse lingue che intanto andava studiando, poiché Ottorino ebbe fin da ragazzo una grande disposizione per le lingue e una singolare curiosità per quelle meno note.]

⁵¹ Ibid., 191. [Respighi faceva le osservazioni ad ogni professore nella sua lingua (c’erano elementi russi, tedeschi, francesi, italiani, etc.).]

⁵² Lee G. Barrow, *Ottorino Respighi (1879–1936): An Annotated Bibliography*, (Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2004), 136.

⁵³ Lee G. Barrow, “The Effect of Attitudes toward Fascism on the Critical Assessment of the Music of Ottorino Respighi,” *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*

Categorizing composers on the basis of nationality, style, and period is useful and frequently necessary. However, careful research typically demonstrates that few individuals have such a homogenous style that can be easily categorized. Although it is tempting to classify Respighi as an Italian fascism-era composer and Olivieri as an Italian-Mexican composer, it is clear that both composers incorporated musical elements of transnationalism, along with subtlety and nuance in their works. This multi-faceted interest in culture and language was one that they shared, and years of conversations on the subject influenced both composers' modes of thinking. While the clear contribution discussed in this chapter is that of Olivieri's Mexican (or Spanish) theme that appears in Respighi's work, the more nuanced influence is that of intellectual partners sharing political and philosophical ideas throughout their lives.

Reception of *Tre canzoni*

Although it is clear that Olivieri viewed herself as Italian, it is also important to understand how her identity was perceived and received in her time. Alberto Gasco, a renowned Italian music critic, wrote a review of *Tre canzoni spagnole* that originally appeared in the periodical *Musica d'Oggi*, published by Ricordi, in February 1920. The title reads "Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo: An Italian Musician."⁵⁴ Gasco writes that he received an invitation to attend the concert at the Accademia di Santa Cecilia, where a new talent—that

42, no. 1 (June 2011), 79–95.

⁵⁴ Alberto Gasco, "Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo: una musicista italiana." Reprinted in Leonardo Bragaglia, "*Ardendo vivo*," 70–73, and in *Gli anniversari musicali del 1997*, ed. Potito Pedarra and Piero Santi, 617–620.

is, Olivieri—would premiere her works. Unimpressed with the idea of a woman composer, he planned to write a dreadful review. He explains his state of mind,

That blessed Olivieri Sangiacomo, who seems to have so many keepers, she will see the kind of service I will render her, writing in my newspaper an account of the “party!” It seems that the girl is very pretty and kind. Better for her to be so. She will be comforted, after reading my article, by looking at herself in the mirror...

Women are terrible. Until yesterday they were content to claim querulously the right to vote. Today they want to write symphonic music. The penal code, definitely, is incomplete; we need to add an article imposing a sentence of at least three years in prison and ten of special supervision to any woman—virgin, married, or widow—that...

My enraged fantasy would remain incomplete.⁵⁵

Contrary to his expectations, he did not find that Olivieri’s music was terrible; in fact, Gasco claimed to be astonished by the quality of the music he heard in the concert. Converted and contrite, he wrote a glowing review. Later, at the time of the publication of *Tre canzoni spagnole*, he met again with Olivieri, this time at her home. She sang the songs for him. He writes,

I spent an hour of complete artistic satisfaction, and I keep it close to my memory. Melodic music, full of abandon, always elegant, never contrived or sagging, often with a most pleasant exotic flavor. It should be noted at this point that Olivieri Sangiacomo has in her veins some Spanish blood: she was born of a Mexican mother. It is thus explained, right away, why the three songs now published have precisely been composed on Spanish texts (ably

⁵⁵ Alberto Gasco, “Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo: una musicista italiana.” Reprinted in Leonardo Bragaglia, *“Ardendo vivo,”* 71, and in *Gli anniversari musicali del 1997*, ed. Potito Pedarra and Piero Santi, 618. [Quella benedetta Olivieri Sangiacomo che ha tanti zelatori, vedrà quale servizio io le renderò domani, scrivendo sul mio giornale il resoconto della “festa!” Pare che la ragazza sia assai graziosa e gentile. Meglio per lei. Si consolerà del mio articolo guardandosi allo specchio . . .

Le donne sono terribili. Fino a ieri si accontentavano di reclamare con voce querula il diritto di voto. Oggi vogliono scrivere musica sinfonica. Il codice penale, decisamente, è incompleto bisogna aggiungere un articolo in cui sia comminata una pena di almeno tre anni di galera e dieci di sorveglianza speciale a qualsiasi donna—vergine, maritata o vedova—che...

La mia fantasticheria iracunda restò interrotta.]

translated by the musician herself). And, knowing the subtle links that run between the music of Spain and that of Russia, it is no wonder that “La muerte del payador” and the lullaby “Duérmete, mi alma...” seem to transplant into Iberian soil some vineyards taken from the Garden of Mussorgsky.⁵⁶

Gasco—like Olivieri herself—sees her national identity as Italian. He notes that the Spanish style in the piece is an exoticism—even associating it with Russia. Olivieri is an Italian woman using sounds from Spain as exoticisms in her music. Gasco further elucidates his view of a stylistic link to Russian music. He writes

“Goodbye, flower of my soul!!!” [sic] sings the dying troubador, with a fragile and pure melody. How much sincere commotion we have in this piece! And how much poetry! The affinities between the lullaby and the famous lullabies of Mussorgsky are curious (I speak of a vague affinity and not of resemblance): but the song has its own defined prestige, it pleases and it will please. “Momento” reveals a new aspect of the genius of Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo. Here there are no languishing phrases, nor sorrowful words: passion becomes gleeful, and the music becomes rushed and throbbing. The piano part takes on a particular importance, and the voice always stands out: the most difficult problem was thus resolved by the musician with a flash of genius.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Gasco, “Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo.” In Bragaglia, *“Ardendo vivo,”* 72, and in *Gli anniversari musicali*, Pedarra and Santi, 619. [Ho trascorso un’ora di soddisfazione artistica completa e ne fermo qui la memoria. Musica melodica, piena di abbandoni, elegante sempre, mai artificiosa o cascante, spesso di un sapore esotico piacevolissimo. Conviene a questo punto notare che la Olivieri Sangiacomo ha nelle vene un po’ di sangue spagnolo: ella è nata di madre messicana. Si spiega subito, così, come le tre liriche adesso pubblicate siano appunto composte su testo spagnolo (tradotto abilmente dalla stessa musicista). E, conoscendosi i sottili legami che passano tra la musica di Spagna e quella russa, non c’è da meravigliarsi se “La muerte del payador” e la *ninna-nanna* “Duérmete mi alma...” *sembrino trapiantare in suolo iberico qualche vigneto tolto dal giardino de Mussorgsky.*]

⁵⁷ Gasco, “Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo.” In Bragaglia, *“Ardendo vivo,”* 72, and in *Gli anniversari musicali*, Pedarra and Santi, 619. [“Addio, fior dell’alma mia!!!” canta il trovatore morente, con una melodia fragile e pura. Quanta commozione sincera v’ha in questo brano! E quanta poesia! Le affinità tra la ninna-nanna e una delle famose berceuse del Mussorgsky sono curiose (parliamo di affinità vaghe e non di somiglianza): ma la canzone ha un prestigio proprio e piace e piacerà. *Il Momento* ci svela un nuovo aspetto dell’ingegno di Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo. Qui, non frasi languenti, accenti accorati: la passione scatta giuliva e la musica scorre veloce e

Gasco concludes by mentioning that Olivieri had become, at the time of his writing, wife to Ottorino Respighi, one of the composers that “most honor our country.” He finishes

Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo’s personality is not only well guarded, but it also tends to take on an increasingly decided character. The day of the full affirmation of this musician is certainly not far away.⁵⁸

He was wrong, of course. The full affirmation of Olivieri as a composer would have to wait. In a way, it is still waiting even today.

Conclusion

The full spectrum of perceived national identities tied with Olivieri and her music prior to her marriage thus comes into full view. Her perception of herself as Italian seems to be constructed with a mildly exotic Spanish connection, via her Mexican—or in fact, quarter-Spanish, as explained in the first part of the chapter—heritage. This Spanish layer is reclaimed in music in the *Tre canzoni spagnole*, in which all three songs are dedicated to her mother. The diverse choice of texts shows a pan-Hispanic concept of Spanish language, culture, and identity: an established Argentinian poem is paired with a Sephardic lullaby and a contemporary Spanish-from-Spain poem. And finally, contemporary Italian music critic Alberto Gasco finds in the music not only the Italian-Spanish nexus, but an expressive

palpitante. La parte pianistica prende un’importanza particolare, la voce sempre primeggia: il problema più difficile è stato dunque risolto dalla musicista con un lampo de genialità.]

⁵⁸ Gasco, “Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo.” In Bragaglia, *“Ardendo vivo,”* 73, and in *Gli anniversari musicali*, Pedarra and Santi, 620. [La personalità di Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo non solo è salva, ma tende ad assumere un carattere sempre più deciso. Il giorno della completa affermazione di questa musicista non è certo lontano.]

connection with Russian music, which, at the time was arguably the most fruitful source of inspiration to central-European composers trying to evade Germanic influence.

Olivieri only composed three songs in Spanish, so while Spanish style is a clear element of her unique compositional voice, it cannot be applied to her entire output. As noted above, Olivieri described her interest in Mexican lullabies as a fondness for “the music of faraway countries and remote civilizations.”⁵⁹ Therefore, it is important to understand Spanish style in her music as part of a larger trend of exoticism. Because she was bilingual from childhood and acknowledged a mixed heritage, she developed a more nuanced approach to exoticism than many composers of the time. These ideas were likely influential on Respighi, as well. Olivieri’s complex approach to exoticism should be considered when analyzing her other exoticized works, notably her Italian songs based on Omar Khayām’s *Rubayat*, and *Samurai*, her Italian-language opera based on a Japanese kabuki play. Her personal identification with the exotic allowed her to create rich and nuanced characters where some composers may have settled for caricatures. These ideas will be considered as part of a feminist aesthetic in an examination of her operas in Chapter Four.

⁵⁹ E. Respighi, *Ottorino Respighi*, 84. [. . . di fatto in me è rimasto il gusto per le musiche di paesi lontani e di civiltà remote. . .]

CHAPTER TWO

Lullabies and Aesthetics of Identity and Difference

Introduction

From a modern perspective, it may be difficult to understand why Olivieri would cease composing and instead use her time and talents to support her more famous husband. During the nineteenth century, societal perceptions of women as composers and performers had already begun to change. Thus, it would not have been entirely unusual for Olivieri to attempt to achieve recognition as a composer. Clara Schumann (1819–1896), for example, born eighty years before Olivieri, was able to publish some of her compositions during her lifetime.¹ Additionally, Respighi did not ask Olivieri to cease composing, as Gustav Mahler (1860–1911) infamously did of his wife, Alma Mahler (1879–1964), with whom Olivieri was acquainted.² On the contrary, Respighi encouraged Olivieri's work and frequently sent her pieces to his publishers.

The decision to devote herself to her husband's music might have diminished her own creative self, but it also provided many benefits to Olivieri. Nevertheless, she did struggle with her decision to cease composing, and her frustrations emerge in her tragic lullabies: "Duérmete mi alma" from *Tre canzoni spagnole* (1919), *Berceuse bretonne* (1920), and *La mamma povera* (1939), as well as in her operas, which will be examined in Chapter Four. My examination of these three songs, along with a consideration of lullabies and

¹ Nancy B. Reich, "Clara Schumann," in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950*, ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 266–268.

² Elsa Respighi, *Cinquant'anni di vita nella musica: 1905–1955* (Rome: Trevi, 1977), 79, 214, 255.

cradlesongs from a gendered perspective, paint a clear picture of Olivieri mourning the loss of her creative self and identity as an artist as it became clear that identity as both wife and artist was not possible for her. Because of its cultural situation, the lullaby as art song can be a genre of catharsis—or even one of radical resistance—for women composers, and a study of this type provides a new avenue for the consideration of a feminist aesthetic in music and locates another guidepost for determining Olivieri’s unique compositional voice.

Gender as Social Construct

In the introduction, I discussed feminist aesthetics and the difficulty of tackling the subject of women composers’ absence from the classical music canon. Theories of gender involving social construct, wherein it is the social environment that causes men and women to experience the world differently—and therefore to create art differently—have replaced theories of biological determinism.³ Gender constructions were more vigorously pursued by theorists in the visual arts than by theorists in music, who were slow to consider music from the perspectives of race, gender, or cultural context.⁴ Feminist critiques of visual art—from theorists as varied as critic John Berger to the activism of the Guerilla Girls—suggest

³ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, (UK: Routledge, 1980); Amelia Jones, *The Feminism and Visual Culture Reader: (In Sight: Visual Culture)*, (UK: Routledge, 2001); “Feminist Aesthetics,” in *A Companion to Aesthetics*, second edition, edited by Stephen Davies, Kathleen Marie Higgins, Robert Hopkins, Robert Stecker, David E. Cooper, (UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007), 267–269; Carolyn Korsmeyer, “Feminist Aesthetics,” in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2017 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.). Accessed 13 April, 2017. <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2017/entries/feminism-aesthetics/>

⁴ Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating Music: Challenges to Musicology*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985).

that women have an internalized gender bias and subsequently conceive of themselves as objects of inspiration rather than as agents of art.⁵

Linda Nochlin asked in 1970, “Why are there no great women artists?” and posited an answer that involved the social positioning of women outside of “our institutions and our education,” meaning both formal and informal methods of learning and interacting with art. She notes that there are also few artists from the aristocracy and draws a comparison between the social obligations of the wealthy and those of women from most social classes as barriers to immersion in a life that would allow for grand artistic production. In his 1972 book *Ways of Seeing*, Berger wrote that “according to usage and conventions which are at last being questioned but have by no means been overcome... men act and women appear. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at.”⁶ Berger’s work in gendered aesthetics contemplates the idea of woman as “object” and man as “subject” in great detail. In her 1975 essay “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” Laura Mulvey coined the term “the male gaze,” to explain that cinematic works frequently present subjects from the perspective of a heterosexual masculine view, furthering the objectification of women’s bodies on and off screen.⁷ Subsequent scholars have considered both visual art and societal interactions from the perspective of the male gaze and also

⁵ John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin, 1972).

Frida Kahlo and Kathe Kollwitz, “Transgressive Techniques of the Guerilla Girls,” *Getty Research Journal* 2 (2010): 204. Accessed December 15, 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23005421>. Author names are pseudonyms.

⁶ John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin, 1972), 45–47.

⁷ Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” *Screen* 16, no. 3 (1975): 6–18. Reprinted in *Visual and Other Pleasures* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 14–26.

from that of various gazes that disrupt it.⁸ Indeed, conversations around ideas of a gendered gaze have become pervasive and have resulted in self-conscious explorations of gaze in visual art and also appear in non-academic writings.⁹ The Guerrilla Girls took these theories into the Metropolitan Art Museum in New York to compare representations of nude female bodies to representations of artwork by women artists and discovered that in art of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, eighty-five percent of nude bodies were depicted as female, while only five percent of artists whose work was displayed were women.¹⁰

Theories of the male gaze or gendered perspectives provide not only lenses through which one can understand art, but also give insight into social constructs that contribute to how men and women see themselves in daily life. Of course, the lived experiences of people of any gender are as varied as people themselves, and identity characteristics, including gender and race, do not tell the whole story of an individual's life. However, societal constructions of gender and race impact the ways in which individuals are encouraged to

⁸ A few examples: Lorraine Gamman, Margaret Marshment, *The Female Gaze: Women as Viewers of Popular Culture*, (Seattle: Real Comet Press, 1989); bell hooks, "The Oppositional Gaze: Black Female Spectator," in *The Feminism and Visual Cultural Reader*, (New York: Routledge, 2003), 94–105; Temma Balducci, *Gender, Space, and the Gaze in Post-Haussmann Visual Culture: Beyond the Flâneur*, (Routledge, 2017).

⁹ "The Female Gaze," Exhibitions at Cheim & Reid Gallery, New York, June 2009. Accessed online 12 April 2017 at http://www.cheimread.com/exhibitions/2009-06-25_the-female-gaze; Kelsey Lueptow, "4 Ways to Challenge the Male Gaze," in *Everyday Feminism*, 2013. Accessed online 4 April 2017 at <http://everydayfeminism.com/2013/05/changing-male-gaze/>; "Male Gaze," in *Geek Feminism Wiki*, Accessed online 4 April 2017 at http://geekfeminism.wikia.com/wiki/Male_gaze;

¹⁰ Frida Kahlo and Kathe Kollwitz, "Transgressive Techniques of the Guerilla Girls." The authors noted that a recount undertaken in 2004 revealed even fewer women artists, but a greater representation of nude male bodies.

think about themselves (and their art), and these constructions can be rendered visible in a time and place in history—in this case, Italy in the time of fascism. Understanding bias in cultural context means recognizing that bias is not always negative; while detrimental bias of gender or race can lead to irrational dismissals of art (and people), generative bias “is a perspective that is partial—that is, both slanted and incomplete—yet marked by an awareness of the effects, both positive and negative, of social location.”¹¹ A feminist aesthetic, therefore, can be one which considers the social position of women artists and allows for the exploration of new types of aesthetic value by including the perspectives of people who have often been neglected in the traditional canons of art.

Social positioning and the manifest effects of bias have always contributed to the position of women composers. Many before Olivieri struggled with both internal and external biases against their ability to compose great music. In 1839 Clara Schumann said, “I once believed I had creative talent, but I have given up this idea. A woman must not wish to compose—there was never one able to do it.”¹² Although she is one of the most performed women composers today, Schumann could not see the value in her own work and had an easier time envisioning herself as a muse for her husband than as a composer of her own works. While internalized bias and self-censoring accounts for some of the prejudice against women composers, external bias and exclusion from the canon plays an even bigger role. Irving Godt notes that, although in her time the Viennese composer

¹¹“Feminist Standpoint Aesthetics,” in *A Companion to Aesthetics*, second edition, edited by Stephen Davies, Kathleen Marie Higgins, Robert Hopkins, Robert Stecker, David E. Cooper, (Somewhere: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007), 274.

¹² Quoted in Nancy B. Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 216.

Marianna Martines (1744–1812) received both positive reviews (from the music historian Charles Burney) and negative reviews (from the novelist Caroline Pichler), Eduard Hanslick appears to have accepted Pichler’s opinion without considering or knowing Burney’s. As a result, Hanslick did not bother to view Martines’s scores or attend performances of her music, but rather perpetuated an unsubstantiated negative opinion of the composer.¹³ This type of critical reception contributes to both internalized and external biases against women who compose. As a result of this mix of biases, women composers develop an understanding that they are best suited to the role of the muse, or inspirer of music, rather than as an agent of musical interpretation and composition.

Susan McClary has described a phenomenon of women composers dissociating themselves from their gender in order for their works to be considered alongside a hegemonic canon that accepts art and ideas by men as standard or “normal.” She notes the desire of women composers to brush aside any mention of difference from men composers, who were known just as “composers.” “Because women had been excluded from composition longer than the other arts,” McClary explains, “many female composers have maintained this position of ‘sameness’ [to men] to legitimate their presence in what is still alien territory.”¹⁴ Indeed, Olivieri did not appear to consider herself to be a “woman composer” when she began her career, but as her life progressed, she became more and more aware of the situation of her gender and its effects on her life and output. In 1950, she

¹³ Irving Godt, *Marianna Martines: A Woman Composer in the Vienna of Mozart and Haydn*, (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2010), 3–4.

¹⁴ Susan McClary, “Different Drummers: Interpreting Music by Women Composers,” in *Frauen- und Männerbilder in der Musik: Festschrift für Eva Rieger zum 60. Geburtstag* (Oldenburg: Oldenburg University, 2000), 114.

proposed a facetious lecture titled “The Privileged Destiny of a Woman Composer,” which she said she did not give alongside a series of lectures on Respighi’s music in Switzerland.¹⁵ She gives no other information about the lecture, but the sarcastic title reveals a deep awareness of the effects of her gender on her career. With regard to her opera *Samurai*, she proclaimed “I am happy with my work and firmly convinced the third act of this opera, as it stands, could have been written only by a woman.”¹⁶ Her growing self-awareness of her gender makes her music an especially rich subject for gendered analysis and attracts the consideration of her music from the lens of an oppositional gendered perspective.

While it is imperative to recognize the agency of women in historical times, it is also important to see the socio-cultural systems that shape individual choice. Fascist Italy was a notoriously patriarchal and at times openly misogynistic society. Women held very little political power, although many middle-class women were able to function well under Mussolini’s rule, and some even joined the regime.¹⁷ Olivieri was from an established Italian family, and she and Respighi had a cordial relationship with Gabriele D’Annunzio—a writer whose works were influential on Italian fascism in general and on Benito Mussolini in particular.¹⁸ Olivieri’s place was one of privilege compared to that of many Italian

¹⁵ Elsa Respighi, *Cinquant’anni*, 276–277.

¹⁶ Pedarra, foreword to *Due Canzoni*, 9.

¹⁷ Perry Wilson, “Italy,” in *Women, Gender, and Fascism in Europe, 1919–1945*, (UK: Manchester University Press, 2003), 11–12.

¹⁸ John C.G. Waterhouse. “D’Annunzio, Gabriele.” *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed April 3, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.uconn.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/07191>.

women, but she was still subject to the social constructions of her time. Mussolini and his supporters stressed the importance of motherhood, expecting women to produce future generations that would support the cause of Italian superiority. These effects were felt later in the century, long after Mussolini was deposed. Toward the end of Olivieri's life, scholars noted the continued effects of fascist ideology on the lives of women. In 1977, Costa and Noon-Luminari lamented in "Forced Motherhood in Italy" that,

The Italian woman dreams about self-actualization, but tradition and economics prevent her from realizing it. For when she tries to escape being a mother, she is haunted by fears of poverty, or a lonely, embittered, and finally, deprived old age—the economic alternative to prostitution. These threats, spoken and unspoken, hang over her.¹⁹

Olivieri and Respighi did not have children. In her biography of Respighi, Olivieri quotes Claudio Guastalla as saying,

Respighi said he had never been able to think of paternity without fear. I'd like to have seen him with a small child next to him, and who knows what a tender father he would have been! He was so good and deeply human! Whether for innate wisdom to not want what fate had not granted, or to please her husband in that idea, Elsa silenced in herself every desire for motherhood. And sometimes I heard her speak on the subject with a tone a bit too, let us say, just nice, that perhaps she wanted to choke a secret instinct.²⁰

¹⁹ Stefania Costa and Anne Noon-Luminari, "Forced Motherhood in Italy," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Spring, 1977), pp. 43-51.

²⁰ Claudio Guastalla, quoted in Elsa Respighi, *Ottorino Respighi* (Milan: Ricordi, 1954), 236. [Respighi diceva di non aver mai potuto pensare senza terrore alla paternità: mi sarebbe piaciuto venderlo con un suo bimbetto accanto, e chi sa qual tenero padre sarebbe stato! Era così profondamente buono e umano! Sia per la saggezza, innata, di non desiderare quel che il destino non le accordava, o sia per compiacere il marito in quella sua idea, Elsa fece tacere in sé ogni desiderio di una maternità. E talvolta la udii parlare sull'argomento con un tono un po' eccessivo, e diciamo pure, poco simpatico, che forse voleva soffocare un segreto istinto.]

The fact that Olivieri quotes this passage from Guastalla suggests an admission that she did suppress the expression of any desire for motherhood. Then again, she may simply have used Guastalla's writing to support her appearance as a "good" Italian wife who longed to have children. Regardless of whether she desired children, the social construction of motherhood in fascist Italy adds a layer to the examination of her lullabies. If being a good wife also required being a mother, then Olivieri may have been made to feel as insecure about her role as a wife as she did about her role as a composer. Her tragic lullabies appear to have offered Olivieri a kind of catharsis, through which she may have processed all of these emotions and also a means of expressing her objections to traditional gender roles through a metaphor of motherhood.

The abstract nature of absolute music has made it notoriously difficult to apply feminist aesthetics to art music using these methods.²¹ Attempts to analyze absolute music in terms of gender have resulted in accusations of essentialism, or worse, as seen when Susan McClary suggested that she heard masculine aggression and violence in a climactic moment in Beethoven's music.²² McClary received a great deal of criticism for, among other things, the essentialist nature of her critique—in spite of the fact that music critics had

²¹ MacArthur, *Feminist Aesthetics in Music*, 81–88.

The term "absolute music" was coined by Romantic philosophers and critics, including E.T.A. Hoffman, to describe music that has no extra-musical associations, such as a text, image, or plot. Sexual aesthetics of the time held large scale, abstract works to be "masculine" and small scale, works with a text or other extra-musical associations to be "feminine. See Roger Scruton, "Absolute music," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed February 28, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.uconn.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/00069>.

²² Susan McClary, "Getting Down off the Beanstalk: The Presence of a Woman's Voice in Janika Vandervelde's *Genesis II*," in *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 129–130.

been describing Beethoven's music as "heroic" for centuries. Apparently, McClary's critics would have us believe that the fact that both masculinity and targeted violence are inherent in the nineteenth-century model of the hero is irrelevant. These assessments also fit a broader pattern in which accusations of essentialism are reserved exclusively for feminist critiques.²³

While absolute music is resistant to gendered analysis and the use of tools like the male gaze because of the essentialist arguments of biological determinism, genres like opera, art song, and program music can be evaluated with reference to their texts and plots. However, even in opera—a genre that bears similarities to film—these ideas have largely been ignored. Although scholars have been noting problems with gender and race in opera plots since the 1970s, major opera companies continue to mount productions of *Aida*, *Carmen*, *La Traviata*, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, *Madama Butterfly* and similar operas without addressing the problems.²⁴ This appears to be because audiences and critics accept productions of operas within the existing canon, most of which were composed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the understanding that their original creators were not familiar with gender politics as they are understood today. While some (but not

²³ Paula Higgins, "Women in Music, Feminist Criticism, and Guerrilla Musicology: Reflections on Recent Polemics," *19th-Century Music* 17, no. 2 (Autumn 1993): 174–192. Susan C. Cook, "Musicology and the Undoing of Women. Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality by Susan McClary, Review," *American Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (March 1992): 155–162. Charles Rosen, *Critical Entertainments: Music Old and New* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 266.

²⁴ See Catherine Clément, *L'Opéra ou la Défaite des femmes*, (Paris: Grasset, 1979), (*Opera, or the Undoing of Women*. Trans. Betsy Wing, University of Minnesota Press, 1988.); Naomi Andre, Karen M. Bryan, Eric Saylor, *Blackness in Opera*, (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2012); Mary Ingraham, Joseph So, Roy Moodley, *Opera in a Multicultural World: Coloniality, Culture, Performance*, (UK: Routledge, 2015).

all) opera companies have addressed issues of race—by refusing to cast white singers in the role of Japanese characters in *Madama Butterfly*, for example—even fewer have created productions that reconsider the problematic narratives around rape culture, feminine sexuality, and other tropes common to women characters in opera.²⁵

Musicologists who wish to create more space for music by women composers have struggled to find a balance between analyzing music with the tools that have long been used to justify the overwhelming focus on German-speaking composers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and creating tools that are unique to the analysis of music by women and minority composers.²⁶ Arguments that focus on cultural barriers for women run the risk of sounding too apologetic, while those that ignore cultural considerations simply recreate problematic hegemonic narratives. Critical methodologies, including the application of aesthetics of identity and difference, that have been applied to visual and written art can be applied to extra-musical elements in musical works, and while they do not explain why absolute music by women is also not performed as often as absolute music by men, they do help to understand societal bias against the creative output of women.

At the conjunction of the tendency toward objectification of women in Western art and the push in fascist Italy for all women to become mothers is the natural recognition of

²⁵ Michael Cooper, "'Mikado' Production Canceled Over Racial Concerns," *The New York Times*, Arts Beat, September 18, 2015. Accessed June 6, 2016: http://artsbeat.blogs.nytimes.com/2015/09/18/mikado-production-canceled-over-racial-concerns/?_r=0. Liane Curtis, "The Sexual Politics of Teaching Mozart's 'Don Giovanni,'" *NWSA Journal* 12, no. 1 (2000): 119–142. Accessed June 6, 2016. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4316712>.

²⁶ MacArthur, *Feminist Aesthetics in Music*. Nicholas Cook, *Music: A Very Short Introduction*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, vol. 2, *Music in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 78–83.

the lullaby as an important art form for understanding social constructions and cultural idioms. The study of lullabies from a hegemonic male perspective can shed light on the objectification, fantasy, or oppression of women, while lullabies from a disruptive female perspective can speak to the experience of women who have accepted the role of mother or even of those who have rejected it.

Hence, I engage here with a type of music that can easily be evaluated in terms of gender: lullabies and cradle songs. While some types of character piece do not bring with them a visual tableau, lullabies evoke the specific scene of a mother singing quietly to her baby in a nursery that is far away from noise and other people. The image can be perceived as subtly erotic. The young woman may be objectified via her implied sexual relationship with the non-present father of the child or through the sexualizing of the act of nursing. Lullabies are unique in that, as *Gebrauchsmusik*, they are created by the caretakers of children—who are often, but not always, women—during sometimes desperate and frustrated attempts to soothe. And yet, when set as an art song, the nineteenth and early twentieth-century lullaby can be seen as a commentary on the social position of parents. As musicologist Ruth A. Solie notes in regard to Robert Schumann's *Frauenliebe* songs,

Because nineteenth-century listeners expected music to carry messages, the songs would have been understood in their own time to be doing 'cultural work' and indeed would have been used by their culture in ways that made that work explicit and gave social sanction to their message.²⁷

As Solie explains, the gender of the composer matters a great deal when examining gendered characters in an art song. She continues, "It is entirely to the point that these

²⁷ Ruth A. Solie, "Whose life? The gendered self in Schumann's *Frauenliebe* songs," in *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries*, ed. Steven Paul Scher, (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 219.

songs were not made by a woman—in which case they might conceivably (though not necessarily) convey the authority of experience.” Although Olivieri’s lullabies were composed by a woman, they were not composed by a mother, and therefore the mothers in her lullabies, like the women in Schumann’s *Frauenliebe* songs, are subject to inquiry as cultural commentary. When contrasted with other examples of lullabies, including two from the canon of German Romantic music, and four from her contemporaries, Olivieri’s songs emerge as a clear commentary on her own socio-historic and gendered situation, demonstrating the usefulness of considering a feminist aesthetic in her music.

Olivieri’s Lullabies

In the early part of her career, which includes her time as Respighi’s student and the first years they were married, Olivieri set two lullabies with tragic themes. One is an adaptation of a traditional Sephardic folk song titled “Duérmete mi alma” (1919), which was discussed in some detail in Chapter One, and the other, *Berceuse Bretonne* (1920), is a setting of a French text by Theodore Botrel. After Respighi’s death, Olivieri composed a third lullaby, *La Mamma Povera* (1939), for which she also wrote the text. A comparison of these lullabies to those that will be discussed later in this chapter by Teresa Carreño (1853–1917) and Amy Beach (1867–1944) suggests the presence of an oppositional female perspective in Olivieri’s lullabies, particularly when compared to selected lullabies by Johannes Brahms (1833–1897), Franz Schubert (1797–1828), and Manuel de Falla (1876–1946) that incorporate male positioning. This connection suggests that utilizing the language of feminist aesthetics is an appropriate method of examination of these works. It also creates an opportunity to separate Olivieri’s compositional voice from that of Respighi,

whose only lullaby does not convey a clear sense of any gendered perspective. The mothers represented in Olivieri's lullabies are complex characters that do not attract objectification. As McClary has noted in her work on operas, mothers, like all female characters in music, are frequently characterized as beautiful and desirable or as the polar opposite; that is, entirely undesirable. As a result, "mothers become either invisible or monstrous."²⁸ By insisting on complex mothers in her lullabies, Olivieri already shows her preference for the use of the female perspective and complexity, or to put it another way, aesthetic.

"Duérmete mi alma" is in Spanish and the original publication includes a translation in Italian. The text, which appears in Chapter One, Figure 1.5, comes from a traditional Sephardic folk tune and is heartbreaking. It describes the loneliness of a mother who sings to her child while its father has gone to visit "la blanca niña, y nuevo amor" (the white girl, his new love).²⁹ Like the other lullabies and cradle songs, "Duérmete mi alma" begins calmly and quietly, *pianissimo* and *lento*. It begins in F minor and makes frequent reference to the dominant Phrygian mode. It also includes vocal ornaments that highlight the Spanish origins of the piece, which were discussed in more detail during the examination of this piece in Chapter One.

"Duérmete mi alma" is part of a set of three Spanish songs that were originally composed for voice and orchestra and were published by Ricordi for voice and piano in 1919. Although the piece begins quietly, it contains moving figurations that create a sense

²⁸ Tom Huizenga, "Moms in Opera: Women on the Edge," *npr.org*. Interview with Susan McClary. <http://www.npr.org/sections/deceptivecadence/2013/05/08/182370008/moms-in-opera-women-on-the-edge>. Also discussed at AMS 2015 in "Women Composing Modern Opera." This topic will also be discussed in Chapter Four.

²⁹ As discussed in Chapter One, "la blanca niña" suggests a woman of European descent. The song is a traditional Sephardic folk song. See Chapter One, 52.

of turmoil. The entrance of the voice is preceded by a lamenting countermelody in the piano or cello part, depending on the version. After a calm opening section, the piece shifts from F minor to E minor, and the dynamic increases to *mezzoforte* in measure nineteen. This dramatic shift accompanies the revelation of the absence of the child's father.³⁰ A decrescendo follows, and the music appears to calm, but then the figuration rate doubles from eighth notes to sixteenth notes, and the dominant of E is emphasized as the drama heightens. In measure thirty-four, a climax is reached as the text describes the child's mother following the father and discovering him entering the home of his new love. The dynamic is *fortissimo* for a brief moment, as shown in Example 2.1, before quickly dropping back to *piano*.

EX 2.1. Olivieri's "Duérmete mi alma," mm. 33–35.

The musical score for Example 2.1 shows measures 33-35 of Olivieri's "Duérmete mi alma." The vocal line (soprano) has the lyrics: "- trar en don - de la blan - ca". The piano accompaniment (piano) has the lyrics: "più fino al". The score is in E minor (three flats) and 3/4 time. The piano part features a triplet of eighth notes in measure 34. Dynamics include *ff* (fortissimo) and *p* (piano). The tempo is marked mm. 33-35.

Before the second verse, a transition features long, sustained notes on "duérmete," shown in Example 2.2, that sound like a cry of despair that feels out of place in a lullaby setting.

³⁰ Text, translation, and additional examination of this song appears in Chapter One.

EX 2.2. Olivieri's "Duérmete mi alma," mm. 39–41.

This musical score excerpt shows measures 39 to 41. The vocal line (soprano) begins with a *mf* dynamic and a melodic phrase: "Duér - - me - te". The piano accompaniment features a continuous eighth-note pattern in the left hand, labeled *canto*, and a more complex right-hand part with triplets and chords. The key signature is F minor (three flats).

The second verse is set with the same melody as the first, and faster figurations are continued. The piece ends with the opening phrase briefly set in A-flat Major, and then a final lament descending back to F Minor, shown in Example 2.3.

EX 2.3. Olivieri's "Duérmete mi alma," mm. 90–94.

This musical score excerpt shows measures 90 to 94. The vocal line (soprano) begins with a *pp* dynamic and a melodic phrase: "Duér - me-te - mi vi - da!". The piano accompaniment features a continuous eighth-note pattern in the left hand and a more complex right-hand part with triplets and chords, labeled *espressivo*. The key signature is F minor (three flats).

Like Carreño and Beach's cradle songs, which are discussed below, "Duérmete mi alma" features chromatic and rhythmic instabilities and a much larger dynamic range than the lullabies by Brahms, Schubert, and de Falla, as will also be shown. The piece invites the listener to imagine the mother carried away by grief, crying along with a baby that senses its mother's sadness and is reluctant to go to sleep. With no one else to listen to her anger and frustration, the mother cannot help but sing her woes to the baby. The mother in this story is not the beautiful, serene mother who sings in a quiet tableau as an idealized view of maternal nurturing. Instead, this song demonstrates great empathy to mothers who had few options in life if they were abandoned or betrayed by the fathers of their children. The song can be said to be evoking an oppositional female positioning—that is, a woman who intentionally rejects the male perspective and narratives about women, in this case as a response to betrayal. The lullaby even inverts the parent-child relationship. Instead of singing to calm her baby, the mother vents her own emotions. The child calms the mother.

In comparison to the heart-wrenching harmonies and dynamics of "Duérmete mi alma," *Berceuse Bretonne* is quite placid in its emotional evocation. As with the lullabies by Brahms and de Falla that will be discussed, the song is in a simple triple meter and begins quietly, marked *pianissimo*. The tempo marking, *andante con moto*, suggests more movement than will appear in the Brahms and de Falla works, however. Initially the vocal range is small, and the text is quiet and reassuring, as can be seen in Example 2.4. The narrator sings that the child's father has "gone away on the water," but the piece remains calm and does not yet betray sadness or frustration. The text includes infantile terms, typical in French lullabies or in conversation with children, such as "fait dodo" instead of

“fait dormir” for “go to sleep,” and “mon petit gars,” instead of “mon petit garçon,” for “my little boy.”

EX 2.4. Olivieri’s *Berceuse bretonne*, mm. 4–11.

The musical score for Olivieri's *Berceuse bretonne*, measures 4–11, is presented in two systems. The key signature is E-flat major (three flats), and the time signature is 3/4. The vocal line is written in a single staff, and the piano accompaniment is written in two staves (treble and bass clef). The lyrics are: "mère - re fais ton pe - tit do - do sans sa - voir que ton père - re s'en est al - lé sur l'eau." The piano accompaniment features a melody in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand, often using eighth notes.

After this opening verse, the text shifts to include more dramatic imagery than was initially present. The music also becomes more dramatic, marked *animando*, *poco più mosso*, and *forte*. In addition, the modality shifts from E-flat major to suggest E-flat minor, and a figuration consisting of sets of two eighth notes creates the impression of moving waves on the ocean. Almost immediately, however, the text returns to soothing, comforting words, as though the mother has gotten carried away singing and realizes she needs to return to a calmer style to reassure her child. In this section, the tonality shifts to E minor,

shown in Example 2.5, and is marked *piano*, although the wave-like figuration persists. The mother appears to be attempting to quiet the ocean itself with her words—an image that is fitting for a person at home fearfully hoping for her spouse to return from the sea.

EX 2.5. Olivieri's *Berceuse bretonne*, mm. 12–19.

The musical score for Example 2.5, Olivieri's *Berceuse bretonne*, measures 12–19, is presented in two systems. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats) and the time signature is 3/4. The vocal line is in the upper staff, and the piano accompaniment is in the lower staves. The lyrics are in French.

System 1 (Measures 12–15):

- Measure 12:** Vocal line has a whole rest. Piano accompaniment features a wavy, eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a steady eighth-note pattern in the left hand. Markings: *animando* and *Poco più mosso*.
- Measure 13:** Vocal line has a half note G4. Piano accompaniment continues the wavy pattern. Marking: *f* (forte).
- Measure 14:** Vocal line has a half note A4. Piano accompaniment continues the wavy pattern.
- Measure 15:** Vocal line has a half note G4. Piano accompaniment continues the wavy pattern.

System 2 (Measures 16–19):

- Measure 16:** Vocal line has a half note F#4. Piano accompaniment continues the wavy pattern. Marking: *p* (piano).
- Measure 17:** Vocal line has a half note E4. Piano accompaniment continues the wavy pattern. Marking: *I.º Tempo* and *p*.
- Measure 18:** Vocal line has a half note D4. Piano accompaniment continues the wavy pattern.
- Measure 19:** Vocal line has a half note C4. Piano accompaniment continues the wavy pattern.

Lyrics:

La va - gue est en co - lè - re et
mur - mu - re là - bas
a cô - té de ta

The second strophe is very similar to the first, both lyrically and musically. The narrator sings to her son and describes her sadness because the father of the baby is away at sea. The music grows loud as she expresses her fear that something might happen to the father while he is away because the sea is unpredictable and dangerous. The music then calms as she proceeds to soothe her child—and herself—as she has upset them both again. Just as in “Duérmete mi alma”, the child becomes a tool for calming the mother, instead of

the other way around. Once they are both calm, the bigger tragedy of the third verse is revealed.

FIG 2.1. Full text and translation of Olivier's *Berceuse bretonne*.

Berceuse bretonne

A côté de ta mère
Fais ton petit dodo
Sans savoir que ton père
S'en est allé sur l'eau
La vague est en colère
Et murmure là-bas
A côté de ta mère
Fais dodo mon p'tit gars

Pour te bercer je chante
Fais bien vite dodo
Car dans ma voix tremblante
J'étouffe un long sanglot
Quand la mer est méchante
Mon cœur sonne sur le glas
Mais il faut que je chante
Fais dodo mon p'tit gars

Si la douleur m'agite
Lorsque tu fais dodo
C'est qu'un jour on se quitte
Tu seras matelot
Sur la vague maudite
Un jour tu t'en iras
Ne grandis pas trop vite
Fais dodo mon p'tit gars

Breton Lullaby

At the side of your mother
Take your little nap
Without knowing that your father
Has gone away on the water
The wave is angry
And murmurs down there
At the side your mother
Go to sleep, my little guy

To rock you, I sing
Go to sleep quickly
Because in my trembling voice
I stifle a long sob
When the sea is nasty
My heart bell tolls
But I must sing
Go to sleep, my little guy

If the pain agitates me
When you do sleep
It's because one day I will be left
You will be a sailor
On the cursed wave
One day you will leave
Do not grow up too fast
Go to sleep, my little guy

In this third verse, the mother reveals her fears that her child will also grow up to be a sailor and leave her alone. The mother hates the sea and the fear that it brings as it takes her family away, as evidenced by the climax of the piece. Here, the lullaby is marked

fortissimo, and the vocalist reaches her highest pitch, a G-flat, shown in Example 2.6, as she begs her child to not grow up too quickly.

EX 2.6. Olivieri's *Berceuse Bretonne*, mm. 60–66.

The musical score for Example 2.6, Olivieri's *Berceuse Bretonne*, mm. 60–66, is presented in two systems. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats) and the time signature is 3/4. The vocal line begins with a rest, then enters with a forte (*f*) dynamic, singing the lyrics: "Sur la mer mau-di-te un jour tu t'en i-ra, ne gran-dis pas trop vi-te, dim." The piano accompaniment is marked *animato* and *ff* (fortissimo). The piano part consists of a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the right hand and a more active bass line in the left hand. The score is divided into two systems, each with a vocal staff and a grand staff for piano.

A third lullaby, *La mamma povera*, was composed by Olivieri in 1938 and published by Ricordi in 1939.³¹ No poet is credited, and it is believed by Ruck and Pedarra that Olivieri also wrote the text.

³¹ *La mamma povera* is out of print. Olivieri contacted Ricordi and asked them to cease publishing her works after World War II. (This decision will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four.) The original manuscript for *La mamma povera* is not in the Fondo Respighi at the Fondazione Cini in Venice. Voice Professor Tanya Kruse Ruck loaned me her copy, found in a rare bookstore in Germany in the twenty-first century. It is the only copy I have encountered.

FIG 2.2. Full text of Olivieri's *La mamma povera*.

La mamma povera

Nella casa non c'è pane, ma che importa?
Ci sei tu, piccina, e il mio latte ancor ti sazia,
E dormi quieta.

Nella casa non c'è fuoco ma che importa?
Ci sei tu, piccina; Sul mio core ti riscalda,
e dormi quieta.

Nella casa non c'è amore, ma che importa?
Ci sei tu, piccina, ed io vivo per te sola,
E dormi quieta.
Senza pane, senza fuoco,
Senz'amore, non importa!

Il mio latte t'ha saziata,
Il mio cuore t'ha riscaldata,
Il mio canto t'ha cullata.

Ed ora dormi sorridente e quieta.
Dormi piccina.

The poor mom's lullaby

In the house there is no bread, but is that important?
You are here, little girl, and my milk still sates you.
And you sleep quietly.

In the house there is no fire but is that important?
You are here, little girl, on my heart I warm you,
And you sleep quietly.

In the house there is no love, but is that important?
You are here, little girl, and I live only for you
And you sleep quietly.
Without bread, without fire,
Without love, it is not important!

My milk has sated you,
my heart has warmed you,
My song has cradled you.

And now you sleep, smiling and quiet.
Sleep little girl.

Because Olivieri had no children and the song was written after Respighi's death, the text can be interpreted as words of self-comfort. The text may instead refer to poverty and death Olivieri witnessed during the World Wars. As with the other lullabies, the piece begins quietly, marked *pianissimo* and *Andante lento*, and *con sordina*. The rhythms of the F-Minor accompaniment create a quiet but steadily moving foundation, suggesting a Spanish dance, as can be seen in Example 2.7. The overall melody and harmony are essentially diatonic—more so than most of Olivieri's output—but the octave leaps in the melody make the piece more dramatic than the *Wiegenlieder* of Brahms and Schubert.

EX 2.7. Olivieri's *La mamma povera*, mm. 1–3.

Andante lento

p

Nel - la ca - sa non c'è pa - ne, ma che im - por - ta?

Andante lento

pp

con sordina

simile

The octave leap is a recurring motive in the piece and features prominently at the climax, which follows three verses set similarly. Here the dynamic of the piece increases dramatically to a *fortissimo*, and the piece emphasizes the dominant of F minor, which leads to an Andalusian cadence at the climax, shown in Example 2.8. The Andalusian cadence and its appearance in Olivieri's Spanish songs is discussed in Chapter One. Her use of Spanish dance-style rhythms and the climactic Andalusian cadence in an Italian song suggests a reference to her own mother, who Olivieri visited in Mexico after Respighi's death, and to whom all of her Spanish songs are dedicated.

EX 2.8. Olivieri's *La mamma povera*, mm. 25–31.

Più mosso
mf
f
ff rit.
 Sen - za pa - ne, sen - za fuo - co, sen - z'a-mo - re, non im - por -
Più mosso
mf
cresc.
f
ff
 - ta! Il mio lat - te t'ha sa - zia - ta, il mio cor t'ha ri - scal - da - ta, il mio
mf espress.
mf espress.

Each of Olivieri's lullabies contains elements that are unexpected in a traditional lullaby setting. There are lamentations and exclamations, expressions of heartache, anger, and desperation. Each mother vents her frustrations to a child, who appears to be her sole confidant and comforter. Olivieri's commentary on the social position of mothers is clear: their lives are full of tragedy and uncertainty. Perhaps they can rely on their children as a source of reparation, but as the mother in *Berceuse bretonne* makes clear, attention from the child may also be fleeting. When compared to the celebration of mothers and compulsion of motherhood in fascist Italy, Olivieri's oppositional female perspective comes into focus, and a feminist aesthetic is apparent.

Lullabies and the Male Perspective

In contrast to the scenes conveyed in Olivieri's lullabies, it is a serene image of motherhood that is expressed in the nineteenth-century *Wiegenlieder* of Brahms, which tend to have soft dynamics, gentle piano accompaniments, and sweet lyrics set to conjunct melodies with small ranges. For example, Brahms's famous *Wiegenlied*, Op. 49, No. 4, begins with the dynamic marking of *piano*, and tempo marking *zart bewegt*. The piano accompaniment consists of a rocking bass line that mimics the gentle movement of a cradle or rocking chair with light, syncopated thirds in the middle range of the piano. The vocal melody begins in the mid-low range of the voice on a G and never rises above an E flat. In fact, the entire vocal range is only one octave, and in a tessitura that can be produced without great effort by most singers, resulting in a sweet and soothing sound that would not disturb a sleeping child. The calm introduction is shown in Example 2.9.

EX 2.9. Brahms' *Wiegenlied* Op. 49, No. 4, opening.

Zart bewegt

Gu-ten A - bend, gut Nacht, mit -
Gu-ten A - bend, gut Nacht, von -

p

After the initial dynamic marking of *piano*, the only additional indications are a slight swell as the voice rises to its initial E flat, followed immediately by a decrescendo and

another decrescendo at the beginning of the fourth and final phrase. The piece includes simple harmonies: the first and third phrases end on the dominant, and the second and fourth phrases end on the tonic. The only chromaticism in each strophe is a lowered leading tone in measure ten, which transforms a tonic chord into a secondary dominant (V/IV), which is then suspended across the bar line and immediately resolves in the expected manner. The simple harmony and melody result in a song that is soothing and gentle, with no jarring, unexpected moments, as seen in Example 2.10.

EX 2.10. Brahms' *Wiegenlied* Op. 49, No. 4, mm. 9–13.

The musical score for Brahms' *Wiegenlied* Op. 49, No. 4, measures 9–13, is presented in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The score consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are in German and English.

Vocal Line:

un - ter die Deck: mor - gen früh, wenn Gott will, wirst du wie - der ge -
 Christ - kind - leins Baum. Schlaf nun se - lig un süß, schau im Traum's Pa - ra -

Piano Accompaniment:

The piano accompaniment features a simple, soothing melody in the right hand and a steady, rhythmic bass line in the left hand. The harmony is simple, with the first and third phrases ending on the dominant and the second and fourth phrases ending on the tonic. The only chromaticism in each strophe is a lowered leading tone in measure ten, which transforms a tonic chord into a secondary dominant (V/IV), which is then suspended across the bar line and immediately resolves in the expected manner.

The text of Brahms's *Wiegenlied*, a poem taken from a collection of German folk poems, includes imagery of flowers, cozy blankets, and angels guarding a child's resting place. Everything about the piece suggests a calm, beautiful tableau—a fantastical vision of motherhood through the eyes of a male admirer. Brahms was a lifelong bachelor who raised no children of his own. He had a close relationship with Clara Schumann and was acquainted with her children and dedicated some of his lieder to them. I do not mean to suggest that Brahms was entirely unaware of the difficulties of parenthood; however, the

text of his *Wiegenlied* and his resulting setting both convey a sense of motherhood and femininity that was stereotypical and not nuanced, imparting generic and idealized versions of the relationships between mothers and children.

Similarly, Schubert's *Wiegenlied*, Op. 98, No. 2, features a one-octave range and a diatonic melody. The beginning is marked *pianissimo* and *langsam*, and there are no further dynamic or tempo markings, suggesting a calm atmosphere with no interruptions. The text, attributed to *Matthias Claudius* (1740-1815), indicates that the child is male and that he is sleeping in a "sweet grave" (süssen Grabe). There is nothing that indicates sadness in the music, however. The introduction and opening text are shown in Example 2.11.

EX 2.11. Franz Schubert's *Wiegenlied* Op. 98, No. 2, mm. 1–3.

Langsam.

Schla - fe, schla - fe, hol-der, sü - sser_ Kna - be, lei - se wiegt_ dich
 Schla - fe, schla - fe, in dem sü - ssen_ Gra - be, noch be - schützt_ dich
 Schla - fe, schla - fe, in der Flau - men_ Schoo - sse, noch um - tönt_ dich

pp

Like Brahms's *Wiegenlied*, Schubert's lullaby is strophic, maintain a serene affect throughout the song. The harmony is similarly placid, with the sole chromaticism of a raised fifth on the dominant chord to enhance its urge to lead back to the tonic. The altered harmony is seen in the third measure of Example 2.12.

EX 2.12. Schubert's *Wiegenlied* Op. 98, No. 2, mm. 4–7.

deiner Mu - ter Hand; sanf - te Ru - he, mil - de La - be bringt dir schwe - bend
 deiner Mu - ter Arm; al - le Wün - sche, al - le Ha - be fasst sie lie - bend,
 lau - ter Lie - bes - ton; ei - ne Li - lie, ei - ne Ro - se, nach dem Schla - fe

As with Brahms, Schubert was a lifelong bachelor who did not have children of his own. His lullaby may be a tribute to a friend or to his own mother or to no one at all.

Regardless, this version of motherhood is the product of a centuries-long tradition of Western art to rely on a trope of male heterosexual desire and domination. Schubert and Brahms both present an image of female submission to hegemonic gender roles, implying also a submission to that male desire. Both lullabies convey the calm and beautiful depiction of feminine nurturing, with a gentle text, soothing melody, and calm harmonic structure.

De Falla's "Nana" from *Siete canciones populares españolas* is a setting of a Spanish folk song. The original composer of that tune could have been a woman, but that does not eliminate the reality that the folk song was chosen by de Falla and set to convey a particular image, nor the idea that the image is subject to the male gaze. De Falla's "Nana" has a wider dynamic range than Brahms's and Schubert's *Wiegenlieder*, but a smaller dynamic range than Olivieri's lullabies. The piece begins with a *pianissimo* marking, along with a tempo marking of *calmo e sostenuto*. It begins with the E dominant Phrygian scale, a mode

discussed in Chapter One that is common in Spanish folk music. De Falla's setting includes triplet vocal ornaments, which are also common in Spanish folk music and reminiscent of the Spanish-style ornamentations that appear in Olivieri's Spanish songs.³² The scale and ornament are shown in Example 2.13.

EX 2.13. De Falla's "Nana," from *Siete canciones*, opening.

The musical score is for De Falla's "Nana" from *Siete canciones*. It is in 2/4 time. The first system shows the vocal line (Canto) and piano accompaniment (Piano). The vocal line starts with a rest, then has a triplet of eighth notes (G4, A4, B4) marked "mormorato" and "3". The piano accompaniment is marked "Calmo e sostenuto (♩ = 42)" and "pp". The second system continues the vocal line with "duer - me, ___" and "Duer - me, mi al - ma, ___", each followed by a triplet of eighth notes. The piano accompaniment continues with a similar pattern.

³² Paolo Susanni, *Music and Twentieth-century Tonality: Harmonic Progression Based on Modality and the Interval Cycles*, (London: Routledge, 2012), 125. See also Walter Aaron Clark, *Enrique Granados: Poet of the Piano*, (London: Oxford University Press, 2007), 31–32.

The text of de Falla's song, taken from a traditional Spanish folk song, includes pet names for a child, such as "mi alma" (my soul) and "lucerito" (little star). Like Brahms's *Wiegenlied*, it has two strophes. It features a decrescendo at the end of the first strophe, and a crescendo to a *mezzoforte* in the second strophe, as can be seen in Example 2.14. Soon after, the piece gradually softens, closing on a *pianissimo* and ending on an unresolved dominant. The result is the same: a placid and gentle scene of motherhood from a male perspective.

EX 2.14. De Falla's "Nana," from *Siete canciones*, mm. 10–16.

The musical score for De Falla's "Nana" from *Siete canciones*, measures 10–16, is presented in two systems. The vocal line is in G major and 3/4 time. The piano accompaniment is in G major and 3/4 time. The score includes dynamic markings and performance instructions.

System 1 (Measures 10–13):

- Vocal Line:**
 - Measure 10: *na - na*
 - Measure 11: *Na-ni - ta,*
 - Measure 12: *na - na,*
 - Measure 13: *Na - ni - ta,*
- Piano Line:**
 - Measure 10: *poco cresc.*
 - Measure 11: *- - - - -*
 - Measure 12: *-ma sempre*
 - Measure 13: *- - - - -*

System 2 (Measures 14–16):

- Vocal Line:**
 - Measure 14: *na - na,*
 - Measure 15: *Duér - me - te,*
 - Measure 16: *lu - ce - ri - to*
- Piano Line:**
 - Measure 14: *mf*
 - Measure 15: *dim.*
 - Measure 16: *gradualmente*

In contrast to the lullabies by Brahms, Schubert, and de Falla, Respighi's only lullaby is one without words. It appeared as the first of six pieces (*Sei Pezzi*) for violin and piano, both of which are instruments that Respighi played. "Berceuse" was composed between 1901 and 1902, during a time when Respighi was working as a violinist and violist in Bologna and likely performed the set himself. The six pieces together, like Respighi's *Sei Pezzi* for piano from 1903, form a modified dance suite.

Without a text or more descriptive title for Respighi's "Berceuse," the effort to create a visual tableau can only be speculative. There are, however, a few elements that set the piece apart from the lullabies by other men composers discussed in this chapter. First of all, the piece is in D minor, a key traditionally associated with sadness and even suffering. It begins placidly enough, with the violin melody accompanied by a constantly rustling piano part that creates a rippling water effect through the entire piece, as shown in Example 2.15.

EX 2.15. Respighi's "Berceuse," from *Sei Pezzi*, mm. 1–3.

(con sordino)

p

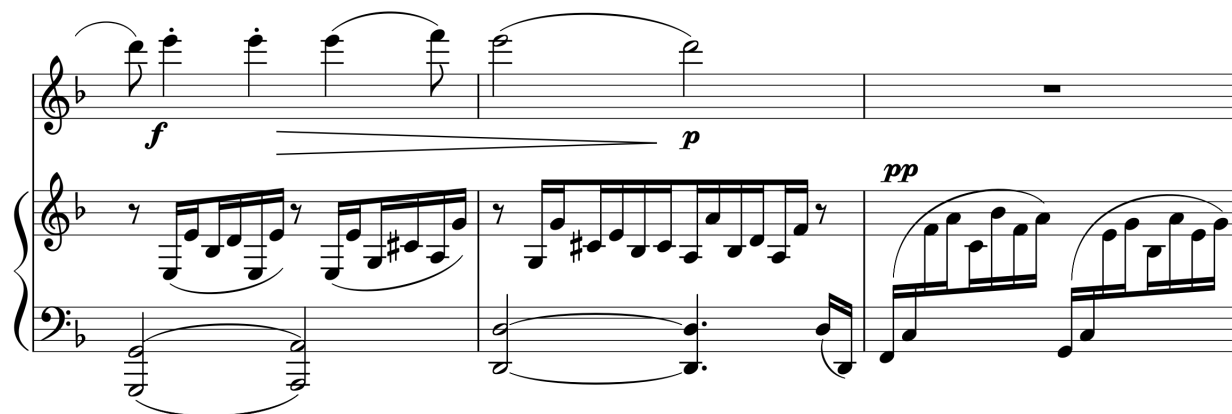
pp mormorato

Due .

The piece begins quietly, marked *pianissimo*, and the violin is muted. The dynamics swell in a dramatic, late romantic style before increasing to a *forte* in measure sixteen.

Immediately the mood is calmed as the piece drops back to *pianissimo* in measure eighteen as it shifts for the first time to the relative major, as shown in Example 2.16.

EX 2.16. Respighi's "Berceuse," from *Sei Pezzi*, mm. 16–18.



Both Respighi and de Falla's lullabies share elements with some of Olivieri's lullabies, including Spanishisms and folksong setting (in the case of de Falla), and mode mixture (in the case of Respighi). However, Olivieri's lullabies have more in common with cradle songs by Carreño and Beach, as will be demonstrated.

It is unlikely that she encountered Carreño's or Beach's music at any point in her life; she does not describe interactions with either pianist.³³ She did attend concerts of

³³ In *Cinquant'anni*, Olivieri writes that in 1920 in Asolo, Respighi substituted in a performance for a harpsichordist. "The absent musician was Mr. Beach, an excellent American pianist, who also was in love with Asolo and owned a stupendous villa that at one time had belonged to the poet Robert Browning." ["Questo maestro al cembalo era Mr. Beach, un eccellente pianista Americano, anche lui innamorato di Asolo, proprietario della stupenda villa che un tempo era appartenuta al poeta Robert Browning."] Of course, the pianist must have been Amy Beach, but it is unclear whether the error of title belongs to Olivieri or her editors (p. 78). She was 80 years old in 1976 when she wrote *Cinquant'anni*, frequently consulting diaries and notebooks belonging to herself and others. There are occasional errors in the spelling of names and calendar dates throughout the book.

music by Manuel de Falla, and could have been familiar with his “Nana.”³⁴ It is unclear whether any of the lullabies already discussed or the cradle songs that will be discussed had any influence on her own works. However, she and Carreño and Beach would have been familiar with the lullaby both as art song and as *Gebrauchsmusik*. Their intentional disruption of the male perspective in art lullabies suggests an oppositional position related to the use of the lullaby in everyday life and the position of women who were likely to sing lullabies to an audience of one infant.

Lullabies and the Female Gaze

While *Wiegenlieder*, lullabies, and cradle songs are often genres for voice and piano, they can also be instrumental pieces, as was demonstrated by Respighi’s “Berceuse.” Two cradle songs for piano that demonstrate a female perspective in music are Carreño’s *Le sommeil de l’enfant (Berceuse)* and Beach’s *Cradle Song of the Lonely Mother*. Carreño’s piece begins with a gentle, rocking piano part, but it quickly becomes unsteady and includes several loud moments, a sudden *sforzando*, and even passages marked *agitato*. Carreño was a Venezuelan pianist who performed over 4,000 concerts around the world, frequently touring as a single mother of four children, and her cradle song suggests that either her lived experience of parenthood was different from the portrait presented by

³⁴ In *Cinquant’anni*, Olivieri describes de Falla and his “lively, dazzling music with its brilliant rhythm and perfect instrumentation” [“le sue musiche vive, smaglianti, dal ritmo brillante e dalla perfetta strumentazione”] in 1918 (p. 59), as “an artist for whom Ottorino always had a great liking and admiration” [“artista per il quale Ottorino ebbe sempre molta simpatia e molta ammirazione”] in collaborations in 1925 (p. 110), and his works onstage with those of Respighi in 1929 (p. 147). These appear to be references to orchestral works; there is no specific mention of de Falla’s art songs or chamber music.

Brahms and Schubert or she had another reason to disrupt the traditional scene of a lullaby. *Le sommeil de l'enfant* is dedicated to Carreño's father ("A mon père"). The first dynamic marking is *pianissimo*, with an expression marking of *tranquillo*. Whereas Brahms and Schubert chose simple meters, Carreño makes use of compound meter in a similar tempo, creating rhythms that connote a cradle or rocking chair. The meter and sensibility of the opening can be seen in Example 2.17.

EX 2.17. Carreño's *Le sommeil de l'enfant*, opening.

Allegretto quasi andante (♩ = 48)

The musical score is for the opening of Carreño's *Le sommeil de l'enfant*. It is in 6/8 time, marked **Allegretto quasi andante** with a tempo of 48 quarter notes per minute. The piano part begins with a *pp* (pianissimo) dynamic and a *tranquillo* expression marking. The right hand part begins with a *con espress.* (con espressione) marking. The score includes various articulation marks such as *acc.* (accents) and *f* (forte) throughout the opening.

Unlike Brahms, Schubert, and de Falla's lullabies, *Le sommeil* contains frequent dynamic changes, chromaticisms, and articulation marks. The second phrase is marked *crescendo*, and the third phrase begins with a *forte* dynamic marking, followed by an immediate calming to a *piano* dynamic marking, followed by a *pianissimo* return to the opening material. These jarring and unexpected changes of dynamic and harmony disrupt the expected serenity of a lullaby, instead giving the impression that the child's sleep is not very peaceful. The altered harmonies and shifting dynamics are shown in Example 2.18.

EX 2.18. Carreño's *Le sommeil de l'enfant*, mm. 8–17.

The musical score for Example 2.18, Carreño's *Le sommeil de l'enfant*, measures 8–17, is presented in two systems. The first system (measures 8–12) shows a piano part with a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes, and a vocal part with a melodic line. The piano part has a crescendo and a forte dynamic. The second system (measures 13–17) shows a piano part with a piano dynamic and a piano-piano dynamic. The piano part has a piano dynamic and a piano-piano dynamic. The vocal part has a piano dynamic and a piano-piano dynamic.

When the first three phrases are repeated, the passage originally marked *forte* is marked *piano*, revealing an intentional inconsistency of expression in Carreño's work. After the dynamic instability is revealed, the piece contains the expression marking *un poco agitato*, accompanied by dynamic swells, before being replaced by a *tranquillo* marking. The music thus vacillates between a sense of agitation and one of the expected serenity, as shown in Example 2.19.

EX 2.19. Carreño's *Le sommeil de l'enfant*, mm. 26–34.

The musical score for Example 2.19 consists of two systems of music. The first system covers measures 26 to 30, and the second system covers measures 31 to 34. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 3/4. The score is written for piano. The first system begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The tempo is marked *poco rit.* (ritardando) and then returns to *a tempo*. The second system begins with the tempo marking *un poco agitato* (a little agitated). The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings.

Following the *agitato* and *tranquillo* sections, the dynamic changes in the next section include another crescendo followed by decrescendo, along with markings of *tranquillo* and *calmandosi*. In measure 44, a sforzando shatters the calm—seeming very out of place in a lullaby—followed by quick, arpeggiated grace notes marked *pianissimo*, that can be seen in Example 2.20.

EX 2.20. Carreño's *Le sommeil de l'enfant*, mm. 44–47.

The musical score for Example 2.20 consists of two systems of music. The first system covers measures 44 to 45, and the second system covers measures 46 to 47. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 3/4. The score is written for piano. The first system begins with a sforzando (*sf*) dynamic, followed by a pianissimo (*pp*) dynamic. The second system begins with a pianissimo (*pp*) dynamic. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings.

Carreño's *Le sommeil* is set in rounded binary form, with the A section in the key of F and the B section a tritone away in the key of B. The journey to the distant key requires an extended chromatic transition, shown in Example 2.21, and the key of B is barely established before it is upset by chromatic instability leading to turmoil in a section marked *stretto* that finally settles back to a *tranquillo* B-major before a chromatic re-transition back to the home key. These chromatic journeys further illustrate a sense of the unexpected or of agitation in the scene.

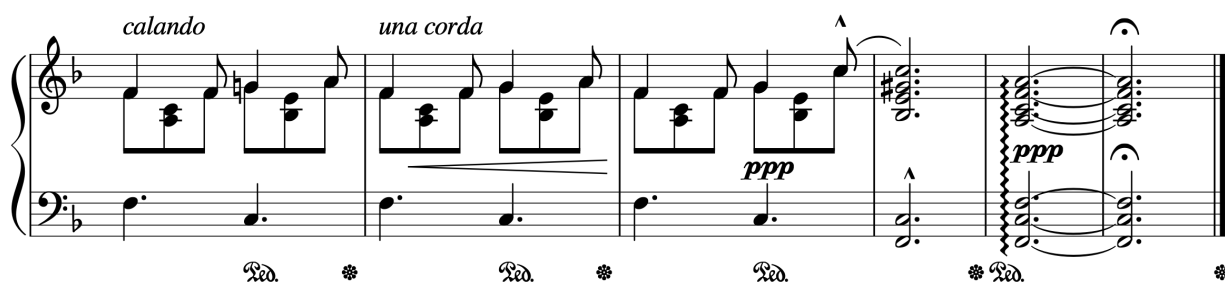
EX 2.21. Carreño's *Le sommeil de l'enfant*, mm. 66–69.

In the return of the A section, septuplets echo the opening arpeggiations, but this time the dynamics do not rise above *mezzoforte*, as seen in Example 2.22.

EX 2.22. Carreño's *Le sommeil de l'enfant*, mm. 88–91.

The piece finally begins to settle down: the tempo slows, the dynamic softens, and the harmonic rhythm slows to the end (Example 2.23), resulting finally in the placidity expected in a cradle song.

EX 2.23. Carreño's *Le sommeil de l'enfant*, mm. 101–end.



Whereas the lullabies by Brahms, Schubert, and de Falla suggest a sweet, peaceful tableau, Carreño's cradle song portrays calm moments interrupted by agitation. The dynamics, the quick arpeggio ornamentations, and the chromaticisms all convey a sense of instability that is absent from the *Wiegenlieder*. The dramatic slowing and quieting of the final measures gives an impression of a mother tip-toeing away from the baby as carefully as possible so as not to disrupt sleep and be forced to return to the rocking A-section, or—even worse!—the wild instability of the B section.

Beach's *Cradle Song of the Lonely Mother* for piano also relies heavily on chromaticism to disrupt the canon of the traditional lullaby and cradle song genre. While her dynamics and tempo markings are similar to those used by Brahms, Schubert, and de Falla, Beach's *Cradle Song* as a whole has more in common with Carreño's *Le sommeil*. The

opening is in a triple compound meter, marked *Lento espressivo* and *pianissimo*, to which *dolce cantabile* is added in the third measure, as shown in Example 2.24.

EX 2.24. Beach's *Cradle Song of the Lonely Mother* Op. 108, mm. 1–3.

The musical score for Example 2.24 shows the first three measures of Beach's *Cradle Song of the Lonely Mother*. The piece is in 9/8 time and E minor. It begins with a piano introduction marked *pp* and *Lento espressivo*. The first measure has a *Ped.* marking. The second measure has a *** marking. The third measure has a *Ped.* marking and a *** marking. The piece ends with a *sempre con pedale* marking. The tempo/mood is marked *Lento espressivo* and *dolce cantabile*.

From the beginning, the alto line suggests a sighing motive, and the key of E-minor confirms what the title has warned, that the piece will primarily convey loneliness and longing. The A section is sixteen measures long; in it, the piece makes its way from E minor to G major, colored by the chromatic iv chord of C minor, before making a rather dramatic transition to A-flat minor for the B section in measure seventeen, which can be seen in Example 2.25.

EX 2.25. Beach's *Cradle Song of the Lonely Mother* Op. 108, mm. 16–18.

The musical score for Example 2.25 shows measures 16-18 of Beach's *Cradle Song of the Lonely Mother*. The piece is in 9/8 time and E minor. It begins with a piano introduction marked *pp* and *Lento espressivo*. The first measure has a *Ped.* marking. The second measure has a *** marking. The third measure has a *Ped.* marking and a *** marking. The piece ends with a *sempre con pedale* marking. The tempo/mood is marked *Lento espressivo* and *dolce cantabile*.

In the B section, both the soprano and alto line become heavily chromatic. The melody makes frequent attempts to rise, first to the A flat in measure seventeen, then up to a C in measure twenty-one; but every jump in the B section is immediately followed by chromatic descents, demonstrated in Example 2.26, as though the lonely mother seeks to break out of the melancholy into happiness but is constantly thwarted back down into her depression.

EX 2.26. Beach's *Cradle Song of the Lonely Mother* Op. 108, mm. 19–24.

In the second part of the B section, the melody moves to the left hand, and the right hand decorates the melody primarily with chromatic scales, which can be seen in Example 2.27.

EX 2.27. Beach's *Cradle Song of the Lonely Mother* Op. 108, mm. 34–36.

The monotonous chromatic scales add a sense of boredom to the already-existent melancholy. The chromatic scales give way to trills and chromatic thirds in a re-transition to the A section, shown in Example 2.28. The repeat of the A section is marked *mezzoforte*, the loudest dynamic of the piece.

EX 2.28. Beach's *Cradle Song of the Lonely Mother* Op. 108, mm. 49–53.

Beach's *Cradle Song* finishes as it began, calmly and quietly in E minor. The sense of despondence is maintained, and the audience is left imagining a mother who is bored and melancholy, stuck at home with a baby and little else to occupy her time. Or perhaps a more complicated metaphor exists. Beach had relinquished her performing career at the request of her husband and poured her energy into composing music.³⁵ For Beach and Olivieri—neither of whom had children, but both of whom desired to be “good” wives—motherhood was an identity that was likely present even in its absence. Women were viewed as potential mothers or as failed mothers. For Beach, the lullaby could stand in as a possible metaphor for the loneliness she experienced as a housewife, or the loneliness she experienced while longing for a child to occupy her time. For both Beach and Olivieri, the “child” can also be seen as a metaphor for creative output, and the mother as the creative self.

Conclusion

It is not necessary to consider musical compositions by women (or any composer) as a part of their personal histories, although some historians do. Bragaglia claims that all maternal tragedy in Olivieri's music—including that in her opera *Samurai*, which will be discussed in Chapter Four—is related to her decision to cease composing; that is, the

³⁵ Adrienne Fried Block and E. Douglas Bomberger. "Beach, Amy Marcy." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed February 28, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.uconn.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2248268>.

“children” in the stories represent Olivieri’s creative work or creative self.³⁶ This is a logical conclusion and a particularly apt metaphor for *La mamma povera*, composed after Respighi’s death as Olivieri struggled to find herself as a composer again. The same theme is also a likely subject for *Berceuse bretonne*, composed in a time when Olivieri was struggling between her creative self as a composer on the one side, and her duties as housewife and assistant to Respighi on the other. However, the connection of regret in regard to Olivieri’s creative self is less apparent in “Duérmete mi alma,” which was composed at the arguable height of Olivieri’s career, before the marriage proposal by Respighi, in a time where she likely still imagined her future as a successful composer. In this case, the text and melody comes from the traditional Sephardic song, and it is quite possible that Olivieri was captured by the profound sadness of the piece without identifying with it personally. While it may have inspired future personal connections to tragic motherhood, it is unlikely that she interacted with “Duérmete mi alma” as a personal confession, but rather through the perspective of an oppositional female voice.

Feminist theorist Luce Irigaray asked, “why [do] women exhibit such pain and agony [through art]?”³⁷ She gives two answers to the question. The first is that women are socially conditioned to believe that the most perfect thing they can create is life in the form

³⁶ Bragaglia, *Ardendo Vivo*, 97. “In quanto all’altro ‘disumano’ sacrificio, quello di Matsuo, che nei *Samurai* sacrifica il proprio figlio all’ideale, è chiaro a cosa alludo paragonando Elsa a questo personaggio, così poco umano: anche lei, la nostra compositrice ha sacrificato la propria creatura, le proprie creature musicali, al proprio sublime amore. È chiaro.” [“As another ‘inhuman’ sacrifice, that of Matsuo, who in *Samurai* sacrifices his own son to the ideal, it is clear what I mean when I compare Elsa to this character almost devoid of humanity: thus she, our composer, has sacrificed her own creation, her own musical creatures, to her sublime love. This much is clear.”]

³⁷ Luce Irigaray, “How can we create our own beauty?” in *Je, tu, nous: Towards a Culture of Difference*, trans. A. Martin (London: Routledge, 1993), 107–111.

of a baby. In contrast, any type of artistic or intellectual creation must necessarily be unfulfilling. The second is that “the portrayal of suffering for women is an act of truthfulness. It is also akin to an individual and collective catharsis.” For Irigaray, art is a place where women can work out the emotions that result from oppressive obstacles faced in life, along with the collective fears brought on by the dangers that still exist for people who live in feminine bodies all around the world. Irigaray does not believe that this “collective catharsis” should be criticized, because, as she points out, history is also full of Greek tragedies and other dramatic and tragic art works created by men. She acknowledges that pain and suffering appear in art regardless of the gender of the artist. She encourages women to create art that is deeply meaningful, natural, and related to the real world, whether women find that world to be beautiful or horrible at any given moment.

Art created from the perspective of an oppositional female perspective can also be a form of protest or defiance. It stands apart from art that conforms to hegemonic ideals and calls attention to that which has been left out of the canon. It is notable that all of the lullabies by Olivieri, along with Beach’s *Cradle Song of the Lonely Mother*, appear to exist in order to comfort or console the mother, and not, as would be expected, the child. These compositions not only resist objectifying mothers, but they feature mothers expressing negative thoughts and emotions in response to motherhood—something which is taboo in societies that encourage women to value motherhood above all else. The expressions can be viewed as an oppositional response to societal constructions through which women are encouraged to happily accept the role of “mother” and to become a complacent vehicle for the production and nurturing of children. The lullaby can therefore be seen as a genre of

radical resistance when used by women composers to comment on the position of mothers within a specific cultural framework.

CHAPTER THREE

The Medieval Revival in the Context of Fascist Italy

Introduction

In his biography of Olivieri, subtitled “quasi un romanzo” (“almost a novel”), Leonardo Bragaglia includes a 1950 article by Olivieri titled “Il mio allievo Respighi” (“My student Respighi”), in which Olivieri describes how she introduced Respighi to Gregorian chant by showing him pages from the Roman Gradual and describing her love for the melodies shortly after their wedding in 1919.¹ A full translation of a later version of Olivieri’s article that appeared in *Revue musicale Suisse* in 1956 is in Appendix C. Although the essay describes her influence on her husband, John C. G. Waterhouse refutes the idea that the presence of Gregorian melodies in Respighi’s music can be attributed to the influence of his wife in his entry on Respighi in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.² Waterhouse claims Respighi’s interest in Gregorian melodies is evident in his cantata *Christus*, which was composed in 1898, and his Suite in E major, written in 1903. Referring to the latter, Waterhouse claims, “Here, as in *Christus*, there are occasional signs that [Respighi] was responsive to Gregorian chant long before he met his future wife, despite her oft-quoted claim that it was she who first induced him to study plainsong

¹ Olivieri, quoted by Leonardo Bragaglia, “*Ardendo vivo*”: *Elsa Respighi – Tre vite in una; Quasi un romanzo* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1983), 53–56.

² John C. G. Waterhouse, et al. “Respighi, Ottorino,” *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. Web. Accessed 21 Sep. 2015.

systematically.”³ Waterhouse’s dismissal of Olivieri’s influence is difficult to support, as this chapter will demonstrate. An examination of *Christus* and the Suite, as well as an investigation of Respighi’s later Gregorian-influenced works and comparison to Olivieri’s own use of Gregorian melody, following a consideration of the history of the medieval revival in Italy, point to Olivieri’s influence on Respighi in this area.

As Waterhouse suggests, other scholars have readily accepted Olivieri’s assertion that she influenced Respighi’s interest in Gregorian chant. David Heald describes Respighi’s “profound love of and identification with the Italian musical past” and the evidence of this affection in music he composed both before and after his marriage.⁴ Heald notes that Respighi was “initially introduced to mediaeval Gregorian plainchant by his wife, Elsa,” and describes the “brilliant” use of Gregorian mode in his *Concerto gregoriano*, *Vetrata di chiesa*, and *Concerto in modo misolidio*—all composed after his marriage to Olivieri. Christoph Flamm, in his monumental work on Respighi’s instrumental music, does not identify any chant melodies before 1919, but notes several afterward.⁵ My own research confirms the conclusion that while Respighi always had an interest in music from the past, the inclusion of Gregorian melodies in his music began after interactions with Olivieri.

³ John C. G. Waterhouse, et al. “Respighi, Ottorino,” *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press. Web. Accessed 21 Sep. 2015. <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/47335>>.

⁴ David Heald, “Ottorino Respighi: a brief introductory article,” from *Ottorino Respighi*, at Music Web International, 1998. <http://www.musicweb-international.com/respighi/> (Accessed 13 December 2012).

⁵ Christoph Flamm, *Ottorino Respighi und die italienische Instrumentalmusik von der Jahrhundertwende bis zum Faschismus* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2008).

Ian Lace, who served as Secretary of the Respighi Society, takes issue with aspects of Waterhouse's Grove article, though not specifically with the arguments dismissing Olivieri's influence on Respighi with respect to early music.⁶ Pointing to its association of Respighi with Italian fascism and also to the essay's dismissive tone, Lace responds, "Surely the time has come for a more informed, more enlightened assessment of Respighi—including a less snide and prejudiced entry in Grove's—and a full biography."⁷ Lace's assertion of the effects of fascism on the critical reception of Respighi has been supported by Respighi scholar Lee G. Barrow, and some of the effects of fascism and national identity on Respighi's music are considered in Chapter One.⁸

While clear Gregorian melodies are notably absent from Respighi's pre-marriage works, the influence of baroque music on his early compositional style is readily apparent. His particular interest in Monteverdi appears to have begun with a transcription of the *Lamento d'Arianna* in 1908. During this period, he transcribed a sonata and an aria from J. S. Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*, along with sonatas by Vivaldi, Tartini, Porpora, Ariosti, and Locatelli. His study of baroque music influenced his own output during this time, particularly in the areas of melody and form. He composed a number of chamber and orchestral works with designations such as "Suite," "Concerto," and "Overture," all of which hold formal resemblance, if not strict adherence, to the titles they carry. His *Concerto*

⁶ Ian Lace, "The Case for Respighi," from *Ottorino Respighi*, at Music Web International, 1998. <http://www.musicweb-international.com/respighi/> (Accessed 13 December 2012).

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Lee G. Barrow, "Guilt by Association: The Effect of Attitudes toward Fascism on the Critical Assessment of the Music of Ottorino Respighi," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 42, no. 1 (June 2011): 79–95.

all'antica of 1908 is based on both themes and ideas from baroque music.⁹ Although Waterhouse's claim of Gregorian melodies in Respighi's early works may be far-fetched, it is certainly worth noting that an awareness of the historical past had been evident in the composer's music for some time. Nevertheless, a brief excursus into the revival of Gregorian chant—both in the Roman Catholic Church and in nationalist Italian music of the time—together with an analysis of several of Respighi's and Olivieri's works will reveal that Olivieri's influence on her husband in this area was indeed profound.

The Gregorian Revival

Prior to meeting Olivieri, Respighi's interest in traditional compositional forms, particularly from the Baroque and Classical eras as noted above, was influenced in part by a movement of Italian composers and musicologists who sought to use aspects of Italian music of the past to create a uniquely modern Italian sound. The anti-Puccini movement led by musicologist Fausto Torrefranca (1880–1955) encouraged Respighi's contemporaries to “modernize [Italian music] by going back to its roots.”¹⁰ Torrefranca's ideas were echoed by Gabriele D'Annunzio, whose literary aesthetic and nationalistic ideology influenced Benito Mussolini and the development of Italian fascism. D'Annunzio's interest in Wagner clashed with his Italian nationalism and, according to Jim Samson, “made for a love-hate relationship with German music and a search for Italian musical roots going well beyond

⁹ John C.G. Waterhouse, et al. “Respighi, Ottorino.” *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press. Web. 13 Dec. 2012. <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/47335>>.

¹⁰ Jim Samson, *The Late Romantic Era: From the Mid-19th Century to World War I*, (New Jersey: Macmillan, 1991), 146.

the traditional reverence for Palestrina.”¹¹ Samson continues, “Some Italian musicians started collecting ‘authentic’ folk music—something that had gone on in north European countries since the eighteenth century but that had been largely neglected in Italy.”¹² Respighi’s interest in folk art and music is evident in compositions such as *Quattro rispetti toscani*, a song cycle based on poetry in the Tuscan dialect, and in his nationalistic tone poems, among others.

As early as the 1840s, officials in the Catholic Church were aware of the unsuitability of the chant books being used in most services and made the determination to create books that closely conformed to the established liturgy.¹³ In 1871, the official *Graduale Romanum* was published by Pustet, the official printer of the Catholic Church, in Ratisbon.¹⁴ The creation of the edition had been supervised by the musicologist Franz Xaver Haberl, who claimed it to be a restoration of the seventeenth-century Medicaean antiphoner, which Haberl in turn believed was prepared by Palestrina. In 1868, Pope Pius IX granted the Pustet publishing house the exclusive privilege to publish the church’s liturgical books for a period of fifteen years. The interest of Respighi and his contemporaries in older Italian music followed this movement within the Roman Catholic Church to revive the use of

¹¹ Samson, *The Late Romantic Era*, 147.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ John A. Emerson et al., “Plainchant: 11. Restoration and reform in the 19th century,” Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed June 6, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40099pg11>.

¹⁴ Katherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 37–39. My summary of the work by the monks of Solesmes is derived largely from Bergeron’s book.

Gregorian chant in the Roman Catholic Liturgy. The search for authenticity and identity through musical practice was shared by nations and churches in the mid-1800s as part of the nationalistic movement throughout Europe.¹⁵

In 1860, Benedictine monks of the Solesmes St. Peter Abbey in Sarthe, France established a new scriptorium in the abbey and dedicated it to the paleographic study of medieval Gregorian sources. The philosophy at Solesmes differed substantially from Haberl's: rather than treating Palestrina's revision of the Gregorian repertoire as somehow sacrosanct, the monks of Solesmes favored a restoration of the chant repertoire from before the Tridentine reforms that Palestrina's edition exemplified. Within twenty years their work became the frontline of scholarship on Gregorian chant. The enterprise was led by Dom Joseph Pothier, whose 1880 treatise *Mélodies grégorienne d'après la tradition* publicly established the guidelines for the work at Solesmes. In 1883, the Solesmes monks put forth the first authoritative publication of Gregorian chant that reflected their scholarship: *Liber Gradualis*, published by Desclée. It was distinguished from the Pustet-Ratisborn edition by its use of a new font for the chant that was less uniform and more nuanced. Pothier himself created this new type to resemble penmanship from his paleographic studies.¹⁶ The Benedictines of Solesmes hoped, with this edition, to claim the

¹⁵ Richard Taruskin, "Nationalism," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed June 6, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/50846>.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 46–49.

privilege granted to Pustet fifteen years earlier. The Pope preferred Pustet's edition, however, and maintained their exclusive right to publish chant on behalf of the Church.¹⁷

In 1889, the abbey published its first volume of the series *Paléographie musicale* under the direction of Dom André Mocquereau. This series consisted of facsimiles of original Gregorian chant manuscripts, allowing readers to consult the various sources used to create the authoritative *Liber Gradualis*.¹⁸ The first volume, a facsimile of a tenth-century gradual from the Abbey of Saint Gall, was followed by four more volumes between 1889 and 1896. The abbey also published important essays on Gregorian theory, created its own chant typography, and produced elaborately ornate editions of chant, such as the *Liber Antiphonarius* of 1891 and a new edition of the *Liber Gradualis* in 1895.¹⁹ *Paléographie musicale* made plain the working method and aims of Mocquereau and his school: only the study of all extant sources of a given chant, including those in non-diastematic notation, could yield a definitive version of that chant. Mocquereau writes in the preface to the first volume of *Paléographie* that “a typographical reproduction, however rigorous one imagines it, even when executed with special types, will never forestall all the qualms of the meticulous reader.”²⁰ As Katherine Bergeron notes, “the utterly realistic photographs, at a basic aesthetic level, declared war not only on Pustet of Ratisbon, but on Pothier himself.”²¹

¹⁷ Ibid., 65.

¹⁸ Ibid., 52–53.

¹⁹ Ibid. 64–65.

²⁰ André Mocquereau, “Introduction générale,” in *Paléographie Musicale* (Solesmes: Imprimerie de Saint-Pierre, 1889), I:6. Quoted in Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, 87.

²¹ Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, 88.

In 1896, the abbey printed the *Liber Usualis*, known in French as the *Paroissien romain*, a collection of chants from the gradual and the antiphoner for Sundays and the main feasts of the liturgical year.²² This publication was designed to popularize chant and make it more accessible than the previous editions. It was printed in a small format with the intent that it could be used in parishes throughout the Catholic world. This was a departure from the beautifully ornate *Liber Gradualis* of 1895, which would be too expensive for the average parish and impractical for regular use. In 1903, the Benedictines of Solesmes and Desclée published a revised edition of the *Liber Usualis*. This new *Liber Usualis*—available in Latin, French, and English—contained the results of Mocquereau’s paleographic research alongside new signs representing rhythmic punctuation.²³

After the death of Pope Leo XIII in 1903, his successor, Pius X, issued his first *motu proprio*, or papal edict, entitled *Inter plurimas pastoralis officii sollicitudes* (known in Italian translation as *Tra le sollecitudini*). In it, he advocated the use of authentic Gregorian chant as the standard music for the liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church.²⁴ For Pius X, Gregorian chant was

the Chant proper to the Roman Church, the only chant she has inherited from the ancient fathers, which she has jealously guarded for centuries in her liturgical codices, which she directly proposes to the faithful as her own, which she prescribes exclusively for some parts of the liturgy, and which the most recent studies have so happily restored to their integrity and purity.

²² Ibid., 63–64

²³ Ibid., 125–128.

²⁴ Martina Buran, *Il recupero dell’antico nell’opera di Ottorino Respighi e l’archivio documentario alla Fondazione “Giorgio Cini” di Venezia*, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Padua, 2010, 64–67.

On these grounds, Gregorian Chant has always been regarded as the supreme model for sacred music, so that it is fully legitimate to lay down the following rule: the more closely a composition for church approaches in its movement, inspiration and savor the Gregorian form, the more sacred and liturgical it becomes; and the more out of harmony it is with that supreme model, the less worthy it is of the temple.

The ancient traditional Gregorian Chant must, therefore, in a large measure be restored to the functions of public worship, and the fact must be accepted by all that an ecclesiastical function loses none of its solemnity when accompanied by this music alone. Special efforts are to be made to restore the use of the Gregorian Chant by the people, so that the faithful may again take a more active part in the ecclesiastical offices, as was the case in ancient times.²⁵

Pius also stressed the essential role of the correct instruction of Gregorian chant. In a letter to the vicar-general of Rome the same year, he stated his

desire that sacred music be cultivated with special care and in the proper way in all the seminaries and ecclesiastical colleges of Rome, in which such a large and choice body of young clerics from all parts of the world are being educated in the sacred sciences and in the ecclesiastical spirit. We know, and we are greatly comforted by the knowledge, that in some institutions sacred music is in such a flourishing condition that it may serve as a model for others.²⁶

²⁵ Pius X, *Tra le sollecitudini*. http://w2.vatican.va/content/piusx/la/motu_proprio/documents/hf_p-x_motu-proprio_19031122_sollecitudini.html. Accessed August 1, 2016. [...cantu gregoriano, qui igitur Ecclesiae Romanae est, quem ea a maioribus accepit, et in codicibus liturgicis, volentibus aegis, fidelissime servavit, quem vero, prout est proprius, Christicolis proponit et aliquoties in liturgia praecipit, quem denique novissima studia pristinae dignitati et integritati restituerunt. His de causis cantus gregorianus ut exemplar optimum sacrorum musicorum semper est habitus, cum vera sit haec lex: musica compositio eo magis est sacra et liturgica, quo in modis cantum gregorianum sequitur, et eo minus templi digna est, quo magis illo optimo exemplo peccat. Cantus gregorianus, quem transmisit traditio, in sacris solemnibus omnino est instaurandus, et omnes pro certo habeant sacram liturgiam nihil solemnitatis amittere, quamvis hac una musica agatur. Praesertim apud populum cantus gregorianus est instaurandus, quo vehementius Christicolae, more maiorum, sacrae liturgiae sint rursus participes.]

²⁶ Pius X, "Papal Letter directing the Cardinal-Vicar of Rome to restore Sacred Music in the Churches of the Eternal City," *The American Ecclesiastical Review* 30, no. 2 (February 1904): 187.

One of the institutions serving as a model for the study of sacred music was the Santa Cecilia Academy in Rome, where Baron Rudolph Kanzler was a professor of Gregorian chant, Olivieri was a student, and Respighi taught composition.²⁷ Kanzler was the son of a German general who commanded the Army of the Papal States before the unification of Italy. He was also a director of the Sistine Choir Chapel.²⁸ He was one of the early enthusiasts in Rome of the work of the Benedictine monks of Solesmes. After hearing a seminary choir conducted by Dom Mocquereau in Rome in 1890, Kanzler met with the French monk to learn more about the work being done in Solesmes. The Baron subscribed to *Paléographie musicale* “on the spot.”²⁹

In April 1904, an international congress on Gregorian chant was organized in Rome. The Gramophone Company recorded several performances for posterity by choirs conducted by Pothier, Mocquereau, and Kanzler.³⁰ At the same time, Pope Pius X moved the publishing of Gregorian chant to Tipographia Vaticana, but invited the Monastery of Solesmes to supervise new editions. These would be the only official editions by the Church, but publishers worldwide could copy and distribute them. This decision was made public with his second *motu proprio*, dated April 25, 1904, which established five policies: that the Church melodies would be restored “in accordance with the true text of the most

²⁷ Pierre Combe, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant: Solesmes and the Vatican Edition*, trans. Theodore Marier and William Skinner (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 130.

²⁸ T E Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music in England, 1791–1914: A Handmaid of the Liturgy?*, (UK: Ashgate, 2013).

²⁹ Combe, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant*, 130.

³⁰ Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, 136–137.

ancient codices” in a way that considered traditional and contemporary practices, that the monks of Solesmes would oversee the edition, that the edition would also be approved by a special Roman Commission created just for this purpose, that only the Vatican would be able to approve compilation, publication, and distribution of liturgical books, and that the copyrights of the Vatican Edition would be held by the Church.³¹

Dom Joseph Pothier was chosen as the president of the Pontifical Commission for the Vatican Edition. Dom André Mocquereau and Baron Rudolph Kanzler were also active as members of the commission.³² Pothier’s idea of a “Typical Edition,” that is, a work destined to be the reference for all Gregorian chant, clashed with Mocquereau’s scholarship ideas: only new editions could reflect the current state of paleographic scholarship, delving deeper into ever more ancient sources. Pothier believed in a “living tradition” of the chants, and, as the president of the commission, he revised the work submitted to him by the Solesmes monks to conform to his own knowledge of the repertory.³³ The commission effectively split between Pothier and Mocquereau’s camps. Kanzler alternated between Mocquereau’s side and “hesitating” to choose a side.³⁴ In the end, Pothier’s faction won, and the Vatican *Kyriale* published in 1905 was based on the Solesmes 1895 edition of the *Liber*

³¹ Pius X, *Nostro Motu Proprio*. http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-x/it/motu_proprio/documents/hf_p-x_motu-proprio_19040425_libri-liturgici-gregoriani.html. Accessed August 3, 2016. Translated in Combe, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant*, 263–265.

³² Combe, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant*, 266.

³³ Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, 146–149.

³⁴ Combe, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant*, 338–339.

Gradualis, as was the *Graduale Romanum* of 1908. These mainly reflected Pothier's work, without Mocquereau's revisions and rhythmic improvements.³⁵

The work of Baron Rudolph Kanzler is of utmost importance in understanding Olivieri's perspective on Gregorian repertory. Kanzler was Olivieri's professor at Santa Cecilia and was an avid proponent of early music. He organized a weekly choral event at which participants would sing chant and medieval polyphony, and Olivieri was a frequent guest.³⁶ Through Kanzler, Olivieri had access to the most current Gregorian chant performance practice and scholarship. This is the knowledge she imparted to Respighi. Their friendship surpassed that of simple musical camaraderie: Kanzler was a witness at Olivieri and Respighi's wedding, on 11 January 1919.³⁷ Although Respighi was also acquainted with Kanzler, their relationship as colleagues following Respighi's 1915 placement at the academy may well have been the extent of their contact. Olivieri, on the other hand, had studied Gregorian chant and the new publications with Kanzler.

Examination of Respighi's pre-Olivieri works

It is usually impossible to prove a negative, but it is my contention that Respighi's music was not influenced by Gregorian melodies prior to his interactions with Olivieri. Waterhouse hears modal melodies in Respighi's *Christus* and Suite in E major that resemble Gregorian melodies, and this is unsurprising; certainly a modal approach to melody was part of the post-Romantic musical language used by Respighi and other composers of his

³⁵ Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, 155.

³⁶ Elsa Respighi, *Cinquant'anni di vita nella musica: 1905–1955* (Rome: Trevi, 1977), 36.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 65.

time. Nevertheless, a closer look at *Christus* and the Suite in E major reveals that they draw more from the Italian Renaissance and Baroque than from Gregorian chant, and that they were also significantly influenced by the chromatic music of Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov and Richard Strauss.

Christus (1898–1899) was composed for tenor and baritone soloists, male chorus, and orchestra when Respighi was only nineteen; the manuscript containing this work is one of the earliest sources of his music.³⁸ Waterhouse describes the cantata as “a moving and not unoriginal creative response to the sound world of Perosi’s early cantatas, which were then just becoming fashionable.”³⁹ Lorenzo Perosi (1872–1956) composed eleven oratorios between 1898 and 1904 while working as a church musician and priest in Venice and Rome, so it is unsurprising that his work would share style characteristics with Respighi’s early cantata.⁴⁰ However, Respighi’s thematic ideas reveal his growing admiration for Rimsky-Korsakov, with whom he was to study later. The introduction does include a brief chant-like melody in the low strings; however, it is not a Gregorian melody. The choral writing draws on the late Renaissance style exemplified by Palestrina, as is shown below, while the overall character has more in common with Italian opera of Respighi’s day.

The main motives contain chromatic elements, like Christ’s first line, seen in Example 3.1a., or an extended fugue, seen in Example 3.2. The “Christ theme” in 3.1a. has

³⁹ Waterhouse, “Respighi, Ottorino.” *Grove Music Online*.

⁴⁰ John C. G. Waterhouse, “Perosi, Lorenzo,” *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed June 8, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21357>.

more than a passing resemblance to Rimsky-Korsakov's "Sultan theme" from *Scheherazade*, shown in Example 3.1b.

EX 3.1a. Respighi, *Christus*, Part 1, rehearsal number 8.⁴¹

Lento

Cristo

A - - - men di - co vo - bis,

EX 3.1b. Rimsky-Korsakov, *Scheherazade*, "Sultan Theme."⁴²

EX 3.2. Respighi, *Christus*, Part 1, rehearsal number 9.

Molto Lento

Respighi compiled the text, which describes the Last Supper, arrest, and death of Christ, from the Latin bible. He chose the Gospel of Matthew for the first part and the Gospel of Luke for the second.⁴³ The text that closes both parts is the text of a Gregorian

⁴¹ Ottorino Respighi, *Christus*, manuscript RES.MUS.A.059, I-Vgc.

⁴² Nikolay Rimsky-Korsakov, *Scheherazade*, Op. 35 (Leipzig: Belaieff, 1889), 3.

⁴³ The text for Part I is Matthew 26:20–30 The text for Part II is Luke 22:39–48, 54; 23:2, 33, 45–46. Bonifatius Fischer, and Robert Weber. *Biblia sacra: iuxta Vulgatam versionem*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994.

hymn for Palm Sunday: *Gloria, laus et honor*. The corresponding Gregorian melody is found in the *Liber Usualis* and reproduced in Example 3.3.

EX 3.3. Theodulf of Orléans, *Gloria, laus et honor*.⁴⁴

1
G Ló-ri- a, laus et hónor tí-bi sit, Rex Chríste

Redémptor : Cú- i pu- e- rí-le dé- cus prómptit Hosán-
na pí- um.
All : Glória, laus.

The choir :
I. Isra-ël es tu Rex, Davídis et íncli-ta pró-les : Nómíne
qui in Dómi-ni, Rex benedícte, vénis.
All : Glória, laus.

Although the *Liber Usualis* may have been his source for the hymn text, Respighi did not employ the melody, instead creating a four-part chorale texture with an apparently original melody, which can be seen in Example 3.4. At the end of Part 2, the melody with the words “Redemptor, cui puerile decus” is sung by the whole men’s choir in unison.

⁴⁴ Catholic Church, *Liber Usualis*, ed. Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai: Desclee, 1952), 586.

EX 3.4a. Respighi, *Christus*, Part 1, rehearsal number 28.

28 Lento

pp *mf*

Tenor *pp* *mf*
 Glo - ria laus et ho - nor ti - bi sit, Rex

Tenor *pp* *mf*
 Glo - ria laus et ho - nor ti - bi sit, Rex

Bass *pp* *mf*
 Glo - ria laus et ho - nor ti - bi sit, Rex

Bass *pp* *mf*
 Glo - ria laus et ho - nor ti - bi sit, Rex

T. *f* *p*
 Chri - ste Re - dem - ptor.

T. *f* *p*
 Chri - ste Re - dem - ptor.

B. *f* *p*
 Chri - ste Re - dem - ptor.

B. *f* *p*
 Chri - ste Re - dem - ptor.

EX 3.4b. Respighi, *Christus*, Part 1, rehearsal number 29.

29

Tenor Re - dem - ptor, cui pu - e - ri - le de - cus prom - psit Ho -

Tenor Re - dem - ptor, cui pu - e - ri - le de - cus prom - psit Ho -

Bass Re - dem - ptor, cui pu - e - ri - le de - cus prom - psit Ho -

Bass Re - dem - ptor cui pu - e - ri - le de - cus prom - psit Ho -

T. san - na pi - um.

T. *f* san - na *p* Ho - san - na pi - um.

B. *f* san - na *p* Ho - san - na pi - um.

B. *f* san - na *p* Ho - san - na pi - um.

The introduction of *Christus* features the monophonic sound of low orchestral strings in unison, which certainly suggests chant as it might have been heard in a church setting. However, the theme is an instrumental version of Respighi's own melody for the hymn *Gloria, laus et honor*. The opening chant-like melody returns with the words "Israel es tu Rex, et inclita proles," sung by the basses in unison towards the end of Part 2, as can be seen in Example 3.4c. It is clearly not the melody that accompanies the same chant text in the *Liber Usualis* in Example 3.3.

EX 3.4c. Respighi, *Christus*, Part 2, rehearsal number 30 (bass part).

30

Andante

I - sra - el es tu Rex et in - cli - ta pro - les:

The setting suggests that Respighi was familiar with the Palm Sunday service, using narratives of Christ's Passion with one of the corresponding hymns. While he may have been familiar with the Gregorian melody to *Gloria, laus et honor*, he chose to compose his own melody for the text. Respighi's music for *Gloria, laus et honor* is diatonic, with a luminous voice-leading that resembles an earlier style of music, like that of Palestrina, but it is clearly not related to Gregorian chant. In fact, it demonstrates Respighi's intentional rejection of Gregorian melody in favor of his own chant-like creation.

The Suite in E Major was originally entitled "Symphony in E" in 1901, but the piece was revised and retitled in 1903.⁴⁵ It was during this time that Respighi studied with Rimsky-Korsakov, while employed in Russia as a violist before returning to Bologna in 1903.⁴⁶ Christoph Flamm compares this Suite's symphonic writing with elements of music by César Franck, Richard Strauss, Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky, and Antonín Dvořák.⁴⁷ The four movements have the following descriptive titles: "Nella foresta," "Visione," "Danza," and "Eroica." According to Flamm, the work is organized cyclically, and all of the major themes

⁴⁵ Waterhouse, "Respighi, Ottorino." *Grove Music Online*.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Flamm, *Ottorino Respighi*, 358–373.

of the Suite are spun out of an opening motive in the timpani.⁴⁸ The first theme of the first movement (Example 3.5) shows a clearly diatonic contour and uses all of the notes of the major scale. Flamm also notes similarities between the main theme of the last movement of Respighi's Suite with the famous theme from the last movement of Dvorák's Ninth Symphony.⁴⁹

EX 3.5. Respighi, Suite in E Major, first movement, mm. 19–27.⁵⁰



Notably, Flamm does not mention any Gregorian influence in the Suite in E Major. As will be demonstrated below, Flamm does indicate the presence of Gregorian melodies and their influence in Respighi's works written after his marriage to Olivieri, including specific chants used in great detail. Given his awareness of the influence of Gregorian melodies on Respighi's later work, his silence on the subject of their use in the Suite in E Major speaks volumes.

Examination of Gregorian melodies in Respighi's works after 1919

The first composition in which Respighi acknowledges the inclusion of Gregorian melodies was composed early in his marriage to Olivieri. He began his *Tre preludi sopra*

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Flamm, *Ottorino Respighi*, 373.

⁵⁰ Ottorino Respighi, *Suite in Mi maggiore*, manuscript RES.MUS.A.066, I-Vgc.

melodie gregoriane in 1919 and completed it two years later. Nathan Hess believes that Olivieri's interest in Gregorian melodies contributed to Respighi's interest in writing the piece, noting that

[Respighi's] beloved wife Elsa, who had earned a degree in chant and enjoyed sharing her knowledge with Ottorino, turned out to be the main inspiration behind his chant-based works. The fact that the Three Preludes were composed in the same year as the couple's wedding is proof that Olivieri had a significant influence on the creation of these pieces.⁵¹

While such coincidence does not in fact constitute proof of her influence, it is suggestive.

Olivieri, herself, offers the following account:

Respighi also wrote *Tre preludi sopra melodie gregoriane* for the piano. This was the first work that he had composed on Gregorian themes. We had been married only a few weeks when, one day, I asked Ottorino whether he had ever seriously studied Gregorian chant. He answered that it was something that he had wanted to do for a long time, but that in Bologna he had not had a chance to do so. Fortified by a recent diploma with high marks on this subject, a subject I had studied with particular passion, I offered my services as his teacher. I must say that I did not have to work hard.⁵²

⁵¹ Nathan Hess, "Eclecticism in the Piano Works of Ottorino Respighi" (DMA essay, University of Cincinnati, 2005), 78.

⁵² Elsa Respighi, *Cinquant'anni*, 73. [Respighi scrisse anche I "Tre Preludi su melodie gregoriane" per pianoforte. Era questo il primo lavoro che egli componeva su temi gregoriani. Eravamo sposati da poche settimane, quando un giorno io chiesi a Ottorino se si fosse mai dedicato allo studio del canto gregoriano; egli mi rispose che era cosa che desiderava fare da molto tempo ma a Bologna gliene era mancata l'occasione. Forte di un diploma a pieni voti preso in questa materia poco tempo prima, materia che avevo studiato con particolare passione, mi offrii di fargli da maestra, e deco dire che la mia fatica non fu grande.] Olivieri had already presented this information in her biography of Ottorino Respighi. See Elsa Respighi, *Ottorino Respighi* (Milan: Ricordi, 1954), 125.

Attilio Piovano also points to this moment as the beginning of Respighi's systematic study of Gregorian chant and comments that "the critics have paid scarce attention to the testimony of Respighi's consort."⁵³

Hess believes that the themes from *Tre preludi* are not taken directly from Gregorian melodies, but rather that Respighi composed the melodies himself, using them "with great freedom to evoke the outlines of chant." Karin Di Bella agrees, noting that "The Gregorian basis of the 'chants' is evidently spurious... as the melodies were invented by Respighi himself merely to evoke the outlines of authentic chant."⁵⁴ Di Bella does not offer any further discussion, relying instead on liner notes from a recording of the orchestral version of this work by Keith Clark and the Pacific Symphony Orchestra, which state, "These beautiful evocations of genuine plainsong are cleverly synthesized tunes, intoned over rocking pedals or sparse open harmonies to suggest the religious ambiance of the monastery." The CD booklet cited is evidently the only source from which Di Bella deduced that Respighi freely composed the chant passages, so her conclusion lacks a strong foundation. The word "synthesized" suggests that the tunes are derived from a true source and processed to create a palatable theme that would blend deliciously with the rest of Respighi's artistic creation.

Another view is that of Charley Samson, who quotes Olivieri's description of Respighi composing the three preludes during the summer following their marriage.

⁵³ Attilio Piovano, "Citazioni gregoriane e uso del modalismo nella musica strumentale di Ottorino Respighi," in Elio Battaglia et al., *Ottorino Respighi* (Turin, Edizione Radiotelevisione Italiana, 1985), 206. [Scarsa attenzione è stata prestata dalla critica alla testimonianza della consorte di Respighi.]

⁵⁴ Karin Maria Di Bella, "Piano Music in Italy During the Fascist Era" (DMA dissertation, University of British Columbia, 2002), 143.

According to Samson, Olivieri noted that her husband's goal was "to recast those magnificent [Gregorian] melodies in a new language of sounds and free them from the rigidly formal Catholic Liturgy of the Roman Gradual."⁵⁵ The full passage to which Samson refers is as follows:

He became intoxicated by the subject. No day passed without him asking me to sing some page from the Roman Gradual, and the influence of those chants was truly great on the Maestro's art. One can perceive echoes of Gregorian music in almost all of his works after 1919. In those days, the Maestro used to tell me how beautiful it would be to revive, in a new musical language, those stupendous melodies crystalized in the liturgy of the Roman Gradual, to bring to new life the indestructible essence of the real and human value contained in them.⁵⁶

Alas, although Olivieri insinuates that *Tre preludi* makes thematic use of the Roman Gradual, she has not left any clue as to which themes make an appearance.

A search for the piece's "Gregorian" melodies using the *Index of Gregorian Chant* edited by Bryden and Hughes suggests possible reference tunes for two of the main themes of *Tre preludi sopra melodie gregoriane*.⁵⁷ Exact matches are unlikely, as the melodies have indeed been "synthesized" and altered to fit the impressionistic mood of Respighi's work.

⁵⁵ Charley Samson, "Respighi Church Windows," *Colorado Public Radio Online*. 2010 http://www.cpr.org/article/Respighi_Church_Windows (Accessed 13 December, 2010).

⁵⁶ Elsa Respighi, *Cinquant'anni*, 70. [Fu per lui una vera ubriacatura! No passava giorno che non mi chiedesse di intonare qualche pagina del "Graduale Romano" e veramente grande è stata l'influenza di quei canti nell'arte del Maestro, potendosi appurare che in quasi tutti i suoi lavori posteriori al 1919 è dato riscontrare echi di musica gregoriana. Mi diceva il Maestro in quei giorni come sarebbe stato bello poter far rivivere in un nuovo linguaggio di suoni quelle melodie stupende, cristallizzate nella rigida regola della liturgia del "Graduale Romano" e riportare a nuova vita il germe indistruttibile dei valori reali e umani in esse contenuti.] See also Elsa Respighi, *Ottorino Respighi*, 125.

⁵⁷ John R. Bryden, and David G. Hughes. *An Index of Gregorian Chant*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969.

However, the “Gregorian” theme from the second movement of *Tre preludi* bears a significant resemblance to the Easter communion melody *Surrexit Dominus* (see Examples 3.6. and 3.7.).

EX 3.6. Respighi, *Tre preludi*, Movement II, theme.⁵⁸



EX 3.7. *Surrexit Dominus*, from the Roman Gradual.⁵⁹



Similarly, the main theme from the third movement is related to *Sederunt principes*, the gradual for the Feast of Saint Stephen (see Examples 3.8. and 3.9.).

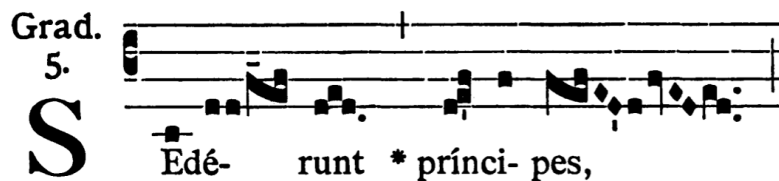
EX 3.8. Respighi, *Tre preludi*, Movement III, theme.



⁵⁸ Ottorino Respighi, *Tre preludi sopra melodie gregoriane* (Vienna: Universal, 1922).

⁵⁹ Catholic Church, *Graduale Romanum*, ed. Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai: Desclee, 1938), 788.

EX 3.9. *Sederunt principes*, from the Roman Gradual.⁶⁰



While neither of these melodies is an exact match for its respective theme, the contours and intervallic content are similar enough that Respighi may well have had them in mind when composing *Tre preludi*. The prominence of these melodies within the Gregorian liturgy—heard as they are on the major feast days of Easter and Saint Stephen’s Day (the day after Christmas), respectively, lends some support to the notion that these melodies were influential. Despite earlier scholars’ assertions to the contrary, it seems likely that this work is based on actual Gregorian melodies and thus demonstrates a more sophisticated application of the musical language of the medieval realm than that of his pre-Olivieri works.

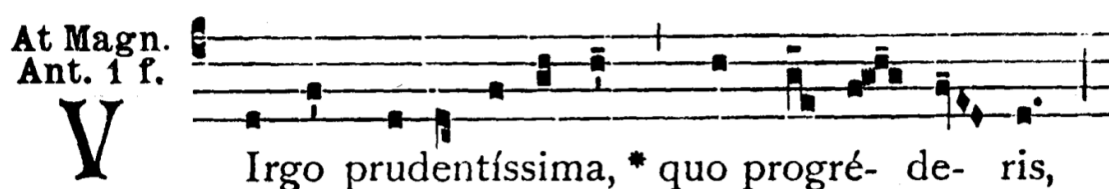
Flamm also quotes Olivieri’s *Cinquant’anni* as evidence that she did indeed influence Respighi’s use of Gregorian melodies.⁶¹ While he believes that *Tre preludi* is the beginning of Respighi’s use of Gregorian melodies, he also does not find exact matches for the melodies in the music. He notes that both the manuscript and the notes for the first edition cite the date of completion as 1921, that the *Tre preludi* precede works that have explicit Gregorian melodies from the first half of the 1920s, but that exact Gregorian melodies have

⁶⁰ Ibid., 36.

⁶¹ Flamm, *Ottorino Respighi*, 541.

not been found as the basis of the *Tre preludi*.⁶² Despite such assertions, both Flamm and Italian musicologist Martina Buran cite Piovano's discussion of *Tre preludi*, which links the theme of the second prelude—which I have associated with *Surrexit Dominus*—to the antiphon to the Magnificat in the first Vespers of Assumption, *Virgo prudentissima* (See Example 3.10.).⁶³

EX 3.10. *Virgo prudentissima*, from the Roman Gradual.⁶⁴



Piovano's choice is not an exact match, and I still believe that *Surrexit Dominus* is a better choice—not least because Respighi was much more likely to be familiar with an Easter communion melody (heard at Easter mass, which Respighi surely attended) than an office chant for the Feast of the Assumption (heard at a late-summer vespers service, which he likely did not attend). However, a side-by-side comparison of *Virgo prudentissima* and *Surrexit Dominus* does not yield a clear answer to the question of whether Respighi was influenced by either of these melodies, or perhaps still another one entirely. Ultimately,

⁶² Ibid., 540–541. [Die *Tre preludi* wurden, wie im Manuskript und auf der ersten Notenseite des Erstdrucks angegeben, erst 1921 beendet. Sie eröffnen eine Reihe von explizit mit gregorianischem Melos in Verbindung stehenden Werken wie dem *Concerto gregoriano*, dem *Quartetto dorico* und dem *Concerto in modo misolidio*, die allesamt in der ersten Hälfte der 1920er Jahre entstanden. Anders als bei den Konzerten sind für die *Tre preludi* noch keine gregorianischen Melodien als exakte Vorbilder gefunden worden.]

⁶³ Piovano, “Citazioni gregoriane,” 213.

⁶⁴ *Graduale Romanum*, 1600.

Flamm and Buran came to the same conclusion: exact matches for the themes of *Tre preludi* are impossible to determine, and yet the deliberate influence of Gregorian melodies is clear enough, though any evidence of the use of a specific chant has been distorted by Respighi's transformation of the melodies. Flamm also notes the influence of Respighi's work on *Tre preludi* in his subsequent composition *Pini di Roma* in 1924, with *Statischvariationen* ("static variations") instead of thematic development.⁶⁵ He describes the "Gregorian" melody in *Pini* as Gregorian-inspired rather than based on a specific melody, but notes that the melody is continually re-contextualized rather than varied.⁶⁶

Later compositions are clearer in their quotation of specific chants. When Respighi orchestrated *Tre preludi* between 1925 and 1926 as the basis of *Vetrata di chiesa*, he added titles for each of the movements (*Fuga in Egitto*, *San Michele Arcangelo*, and *Il mattutino di Santa Chiara*) and added a fourth movement, *San Gregorio Magno*. According to Piovano, this last movement makes use of the Gloria melody from the *Missa de angelis* (Kyrie VIII) from the *Liber Usualis*.⁶⁷ Respighi's 1921 *Concerto Gregoriano* includes the Easter sequence *Victimae paschali laudes* unmistakably as the main theme of its second movement, as we shall see below. Olivieri also points to *Quartetto dorico* as a piece that makes use of a Gregorian melody, which is confirmed by Buran as *Tribus miraculis* from second vespers on the Feast of the Epiphany.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Flamm, *Ottorino Respighi*, 670.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 681–682.

⁶⁷ Piovano, "Citazioni gregoriane," 237.

⁶⁸ Buran, *Il recupero dell'antico*, 96–97.

In 1925, Respighi notated in the score of *Concerto in modo misolidio*, “Omnes gentes plaudite manibus,” an apparent quotation of Psalm 46 from a chant melody appearing in the piece. Even with this clue, Piovano was still unable in 1985 to discover which chant was the basis of the main themes of the piece, in part because the psalm text does not appear at the beginning of any possibly relevant chant. He cited Waterhouse’s Ph.D. Thesis from 1968, which claimed that, unlike the *Concerto gregoriano*, the *Concerto in modo misolidio* did not appear to contain any textual citation of real Gregorian melodies.⁶⁹ Piovano concluded that “almost certainly, as already in other compositions, Respighi simply inspired himself with freedom in modal materials, modifying and varying them according to his own demands and his own tastes.”⁷⁰ However, in 2008 Flamm identified the chant as *Viri galilaei*, the introit from the Feast of the Ascension, which includes the text “Omnes gentes plaudite manibus” toward its end. As Flamm indicates, the chant melody is broken up and introduced in four short phrases, which obscures its origin.⁷¹ Respighi’s method of transforming and modifying the melody of the chant to suit his needs in *Concerto in modo misolidio* suggests that his deliberate use of specific Gregorian chants may not always be recognizable in his music, even with intense study.

In addition to Gregorian melodies, Respighi also made use of medieval texts. His 1930 *Lauda per la nativita del Signore* is based on a text attributed to thirteenth-century

⁶⁹ John C. G. Waterhouse, *The emergence of modern music in Italy up to 1940* (PhD Thesis, University of Oxford, 1968), 569.

⁷⁰ Piovano, “Citazioni gregoriane,” 233. [Quasi certamente, come già in altre composizioni, Respighi semplicemente si ispirò liberamente a materiale modale modificandolo e variandolo secondo le proprie esigenze ed i propri gusti.]

⁷¹ Flamm, *Ottorino Respighi*, 187–188.

friar Jacopone da Todi (the attribution may be spurious, but was understood to be true in Respighi's time).⁷² Just as Olivieri had influenced his use of the melodies, the timing of his use of the medieval text suggests she may have influenced him in this area as well. To be sure, by 1930, the medieval revival was well underway in Italy, and locating a specific influence for Respighi's use of historical material within the context of the movement at this later date would be much more difficult.

Comparison of the use of *Victimae paschali laudes* in works by Olivieri and Respighi

Another factor that suggests Olivieri influenced Respighi in the use of medieval music and texts is evidence of the same interest in her own compositions. In 1939, Olivieri composed *Pianto de la Madonna*, a dramatic cantata for choir and orchestra with soprano and tenor soloists setting an Italian text by Jacopone da Todi.⁷³ The Latin version of the *Stabat Mater*, in which the text is quite different, was also attributed to da Todi in Olivieri's time, but, as explained above, that attribution has since been questioned. Olivieri may have been drawn to da Todi's *laude* because of the story of da Todi's wife, who accepted torture to atone for her husband's hedonistic ways. Following his wife's death, da Todi repented and committed himself to the church, composing a number of *laude*.⁷⁴ Olivieri's setting was composed after Respighi's death, making his direct influence on the piece impossible and

⁷² David Fallows, et al. "Jacopone da Todi." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed March 12, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.uconn.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/14069>.

⁷³ Jacopone da Todi, *Le Laude: Secondo La Stampa Fiorentina del 1490*, ed. Giovanni Ferri (Bari: Giuseppe Laterza & Figli, 1915), 230–233.

⁷⁴ David Fallows, et al. "Jacopone da Todi."

drawing a parallel between Olivieri and da Todi as widow and widower. As Olivieri's return to composition appears to have been a part of her grieving process, Respighi's advice and ideas were likely on her mind, and his influence is evident—notably in the harmonic structure, as will be demonstrated. *Pianto* was first performed in Turin and has been described positively by Leonardo Bragaglia in "*Ardendo Vivo*."⁷⁵ Like much of the rest of Olivieri's music, however, this piece does not appear to have been performed after the 1940s, even though it was published by Ricordi.⁷⁶

A comparison between *Concerto gregoriano* and *Pianto de la Madonna* is in effect a reversal of the comparison between *Maria Egiziaca* and "Momento" (discussed in Chapter One), because in this case Respighi's composition was written first. The second movement of his concerto employs *Victimae paschali laudes* (Example 3.11) as its main theme.

⁷⁵ Bragaglia, "*Ardendo vivo*," 75–78.

⁷⁶ Information at <http://www.ricordi.it/catalogue/products/pianto-della-madonna/>

EX 3.11. *Victimae paschali laudes*, from the *Liber Usualis*.⁷⁷

Seq.
1.
V

Ictimae paschá-li láudes * ímmolent Christi-áni.
Agnus redémit óves : Chrístus ínnocens Pátri reconci-
li-ávit peccatóres. Mors et ví-ta du-éllo confluxére mirán-
do : dux vítae mórtu-us, régnat vívus. Dic nóbis Marí- a,
quid vidísti in ví-a? Sepúlcrum Chrísti vivéntis, et gló-
ri- am vídi resurgéntis : Angé-licos téstes, sudá-ri-um, et
véstes. Surréxit Chrístus spes mé- a : praecédet sú-os in Ga-
lilaé- am. Scímus Chrístum surrexísse a mórtu- is vere :
tu nóbis, víctor Rex, mi-se-ré-re. Amen. Alle-lú-ia.

In *Concerto gregoriano*, the beginning of the chant appears first in the violin and then is shared by the orchestra. The melody itself appears in the same mode and at the same pitch level as it appears in the original chant. Respighi transcribed the melody primarily into a 5/4 meter, with two measures appearing in 4/4 (Example 3.12).

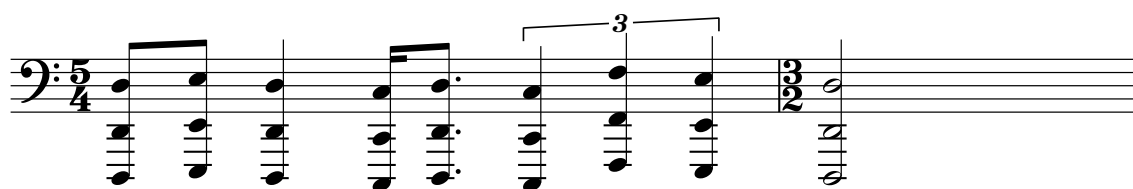
⁷⁷ *Liber Usualis*, 780.

EX 3.12. Respighi, *Concerto gregoriano*, second movement, mm. 1–11, solo violin part.⁷⁸



There is no text accompanying the violin concerto, and Respighi divides the chant into four motives. For instance, the final notes that accompany “Amen, Alleluia” in the chant appear as a separate motive (Example 3.13), initially in the orchestra, that is transformed through the movement.

EX 3.13. Respighi, *Concerto gregoriano*, mm. 11–12, orchestra.



⁷⁸ Ottorino Respighi, *Concerto gregoriano*, for violin and orchestra (Vienna: Universal, 1922).

Because *Victimae paschali laudes* is a sequence used for the Easter service, Respighi could be confident that his audience would associate ideas of transcendence and resurrection with this theme. It does not appear, however, that his use of the text was as sophisticated as Olivieri's, as will be shown. She appears to have emulated his use of modal harmonies and formal harmonic divisions related by thirds. Respighi's motivic transformation and use of harmony is represented in the chart in Figure 3.1.

FIG 3.1. Respighi, *Concerto gregoriano*, second movement. Form chart.

Section	A		A'	B ("Development")	A		A''
Themes	1V+2V+3V+4V		1V+2V+3V+4V	1V'(inc) + 2V'(inc)	1V+2V+3V+4V		1V+2V''(inc)
Key	D Minor (D Dorian)	Modulation	F Minor – C minor (F Dorian)	C Minor – G Minor – E-flat Minor	D-sharp Minor	Modulation	D Major
Measure	1–14	15–19	20–33	34–75	76–90	91–95	96–end

Respighi, *Concerto Gregoriano*, 2nd movement.

1V – "Victimae paschali laudes immolent Christiani."

2V – "Agnus redemit oves: Christus innocens Patri reconciliavit peccatores."

3V – "Dic nobis Maria, quid vidisti in via? Sepulchrum Christi viventis"

4V – "Amen. Alleluia."

Olivieri's use of the chant-based theme does appear to be specific and intentional. *Pianto de la Madonna* is an Italian-language version of the *Stabat Mater*—the depiction of the suffering of the Virgin Mary as Jesus Christ is being crucified. In *Pianto de la Madonna*, the only chant that I have identified is *Victimae paschali laudes*, although as we have learned from Piovano and Flamm, it is possible that additional melodies may be found embedded in the work. However, I believe that *Victimae paschali laudes* may be the only chant used in the piece because of the way it appears as contrafact with the text spoken by

Gesù as he dies on the cross. The chant melody is the basis of the entire tenor solo, although its text comprises the last words spoken by Jesus Christ according to the Gospel according to John (Example 3.14). Following this exchange between Gesù and the Madonna, the choir sighs, and it appears that Gesù has died.⁷⁹

EX 3.14. Olivieri, *Pianto de la Madonna*, mm. 199–205.⁸⁰

Gesù
8 Mam-ma o' sei ve - nu - ta? mor - tal me dàì, fe-ru - ta, chè'l tuo pian-ger me

G.
8 stu - ta chè'l veg - gio si af-fer - ra - to. _____

Olivieri also divides the *Victimae paschali laudes* melody into several sections and places in a similar manner to Respighi, although her divisions happen in several places. On his third attempt to speak, Gesù sings the end of the chant, including the “Amen, Alleluia” that Respighi employs as a separate motive. Olivieri sets this portion of the melody with the text, “Amen, Amen,” to signify that the resurrection has not yet occurred, as seen in Example 3.15.

⁷⁹ Bonifatius Fischer, and Robert Weber. *Biblia sacra: iuxta Vulgatam versionem*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994, John 19:26–30.

⁸⁰ Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo, *Pianto de la Madonna: Lauda drammatica di Jacopone da Todi*, version for voices and piano (Milan: Ricordi, 1939).

EX 3.15. Olivieri, *Pianto de la Madonna*, mm. 224–238.

Gesù *p*
Mam-ma, col core af - flet - to, entro a le man te met - to de Io -

G. *ff*
an-ne, mio elet - to, ___ sia il tuo fi - glio ap-pel-la - to. Oh Io- an - ne, esta mia

G. *dim.*
ma-te tol - le là en ca-ri - ta - te, ag - gi-ne pie - ta - te ca lo core ha fo

G. *dim.* *pp*
ra - to. A - men! A - men! _____

The juxtaposition of Gesù's dying words with the *Victimae paschali laudes* sequence, which heralds Christ's resurrection, creates a hopeful and clever intertextuality. The text of the lauda presents a rather hopeless depiction of the crucifixion. It ends with a text borrowed from another lauda, which Olivieri attributes as "Come l'anima piange la partita del suo amore (Iesù Cristo)." The text itself expresses the pain and suffering of the Madonna at the loss of her son, with no element of hope included. However, the text in combination with the melody of *Victimae paschali laudes* foreshadows Christ's resurrection, giving the listener a sense of optimism.

Both settings of the chant begin with similar formal harmonic divisions, although Respighi's small-scale harmonic progressions are more complicated than Olivieri's. Respighi begins in quasi D minor and transitions to F minor. Olivieri begins in a quasi A

minor and transitions to C minor. Both incorporate modal-sounding harmonies with Romantic-style third relationships. Respighi's ends in the expected D major—perfect for conveying resurrection—while Olivieri ends in a distant, dark A-flat minor, which is more suited to the tragedy of the crucifixion, as can be seen in the form chart in Figure 3.2. More often than not, Olivieri appears to have either adopted Respighi's harmonic language or to have preferred a similar post-Romantic sound for her own works.

FIG 3.2. Olivieri, *Pianto de la Madonna*, mm. 199–238. Form chart.

Section	A		A'		B
Themes	Gesù 1V + 2V	Madonna	Gesù 1V + 2V	Madonna	Gesù 3V
Key	A Minor	A Minor	C Minor	C Minor	F Minor – A-flat Minor
Measure	199–205	205–210	211–218	218–223	224–238

Olivieri, *Pianto de la Madonna*, mm. 199–238.

1V – “Victimae paschali laudes immolent Christiani.”

2V – “Scimus Christum surrexisse a mortuis”

3V – “Dic nobis Maria, quid vidisti in via? Sepulchrum Christi viventis, et gloriam vidi resurgentis: Scimus Christum surrexisse a mortuis vere: Tu nobis, victor Rex, miserere. Amen. Alleluia.”

Conclusion

Waterhouse's assertion that “[Respighi] was responsive to Gregorian chant long before he met his future wife, despite her oft-quoted claim that it was she who first induced him to study plainsong systematically” is misguided and indicative of the greater tendency for historians to minimize the contributions of women in music.⁸¹ While Respighi may have shown an early interest in using chant-like melodies to evoke the gravitas of a church setting, his early works show a blatant rejection of Gregorian melody, while his later works

⁸¹ John C. G. Waterhouse, et al. “Respighi, Ottorino,” *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*.

make explicit use of specific chants. It was Olivieri who studied Gregorian chants as a scholarly exercise with Baron Rudolph Kanzler and who was exposed to the practices of the monks of Solesmes. My examination of both composers' use of Gregorian melodies in their music shows that Olivieri employed clever intertextual devices with Gregorian chant in her own work in a way that Respighi never did. It was clearly Olivieri's passion for the material that inspired her husband.

While this study demonstrates Olivieri's influence on her husband was significant in this area, the real proof is in her own words. Having outlived her husband by more than sixty years and living through decades that saw significant cultural change in attitude toward the ability of women composers, Olivieri could have claimed more influence on her husband than she did. In Chapter Four, I speculate briefly on possible unspoken contributions to Respighi's opera, *Lucrezia*. Nevertheless, Respighi's systematic study and inclusion of Gregorian melodies in his work is the only area in which Olivieri claims strong and consistent influence on her husband. There has never been a reason for musicologists to doubt her word.

CHAPTER FOUR

Gender Representations in Opera

Introduction

Respighi is often described as “the leading composer of non-operatic music in Italy at the turn of the century,” and the designation correctly centers Respighi’s nationalistic tone poems as his most popular works and aligns him with other symphonic composers of his time.¹ However, the statement runs the risk of minimizing Respighi’s considerable success as a composer of operas. Several of his operas and ballets were performed repeatedly during his lifetime, and Respighi and Olivieri often traveled to supervise productions in Europe and the Americas. In her memoir, Olivieri describes working with famous singers of the era, managing the construction of set pieces, and negotiating tempi with local musicians.² These staged productions required more attention from the couple than did performances of symphonic works, and Olivieri, with her charming and organized personality, was frequently called upon to act as production manager and liaison for Respighi’s operas. As a result, she was the unquestioned authority on performances of his works after his death.

When Respighi died in 1936, he left an unfinished manuscript for his one-act opera, *Lucrezia*, which Olivieri took it upon herself to finish. Perhaps emboldened by the success

¹ John C. G. Waterhouse, et al. "Respighi, Ottorino," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed August 16, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/47335>. See Lee G. Barrow, “Guilt by Association: The Effect of Attitudes toward Fascism on the Critical Assessment of the Music of Ottorino Respighi,” *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 42, no. 1 (June 2011), 79.

² Elsa Respighi, *Cinquant’anni di vita nella musica: 1905–1955* (Rome: Trevi, 1977), 147, 157, 181–182, etc.

of this work, she turned her compositional energy to her own operatic and oratorio-like works: the cantata *Pianto de la Madonna* (described in the previous chapter), the cantata for mezzo-soprano and chamber orchestra *Preghiera di Santa Caterina*, the one-act opera *Il dono di Alceste*, and the three-act opera *Samurai*. The last three works feature libretti by Claudio Guastalla, who had written libretti for several of Respighi's operas.³ *Pianto de la Madonna* was published in 1939, as discussed in Chapter Three. It and the *Preghiera di Santa Caterina* had public performances during Olivieri's lifetime, but *Il dono di Alceste* and *Samurai* have not.⁴ Manuscripts for each of these works are held in the library of the Fondazione Cini in Venice.

Regarding *Samurai*, Potito Pedarra quotes Olivieri's diary from 28 December 1945: "I am happy with my work and firmly convinced the third act of this opera, as it stands, could only have been written by a woman."⁵ Olivieri's remark suggests that she believed that gender can have an impact on musical composition. It is unclear whether she merely refers to the plot and text of the opera or to the music itself when she claims that only a woman could have written the work. Olivieri's tendency to dwell on tragic motherhood, as discussed in Chapter Two, resonates with Luce Irigaray's assertion that feminist art often

³ Potito Pedarra, "Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo: la vita, le opere," in *Gli anniversari musicali del 1997*, ed. Potito Pedarra and Piero Santi (Milan: Centro Culturale Rosetum, 1997), 660–662.

⁴ Ibid. A short excerpt of *Samurai* accompanied by piano was presented in a workshop setting by the non-profit organization Hartford Opera Theater, Inc. on November 20, 2016. It was conducted by Jonathan Reuning-Scherer, accompanied by Miguel Campinho, and featured Kristen Charpentier as Azuma, Louise Fauteux as Tonami, Charlie Widmer as Utamaro, and Luke Scott as Matsuo.

⁵ Potito Pedarra, foreword to Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo, *Due Canzoni Italiane per chitarra* (Ancona: Bèrben, 2006), 9.

creates a collective catharsis for women.⁶ As we shall see, Olivieri's music frequently achieves its effect through representation of feminine self-sacrifice. An examination of Olivieri's operas reveals a clear feminist aesthetic. In this chapter, I discuss the characters and plots of Olivieri's *Il dono di Alceste* and *Samurai* from a gendered perspective and consider the nature of her unspoken influence on *Lucrezia*. I demonstrate that Olivieri's feminist aesthetic is a nuanced one in which she refuses to portray feminine characters as monolithically self-sacrificing or defiant. She also deploys the music in a fashion that blurs gender distinctions and, in comparison to operas on the same subject by Carl Orff and Felix Weingartner, increases the stage time and music given to female characters.

Il dono di Alceste

In June of 1938, Olivieri began working on her first opera, the one-act *Il dono di Alceste* ("The gift of Alceste"), which she completed in 1941.⁷ She described this time in her life with a quote from D'Annunzio, "Certainly, out of limitation can be born the most

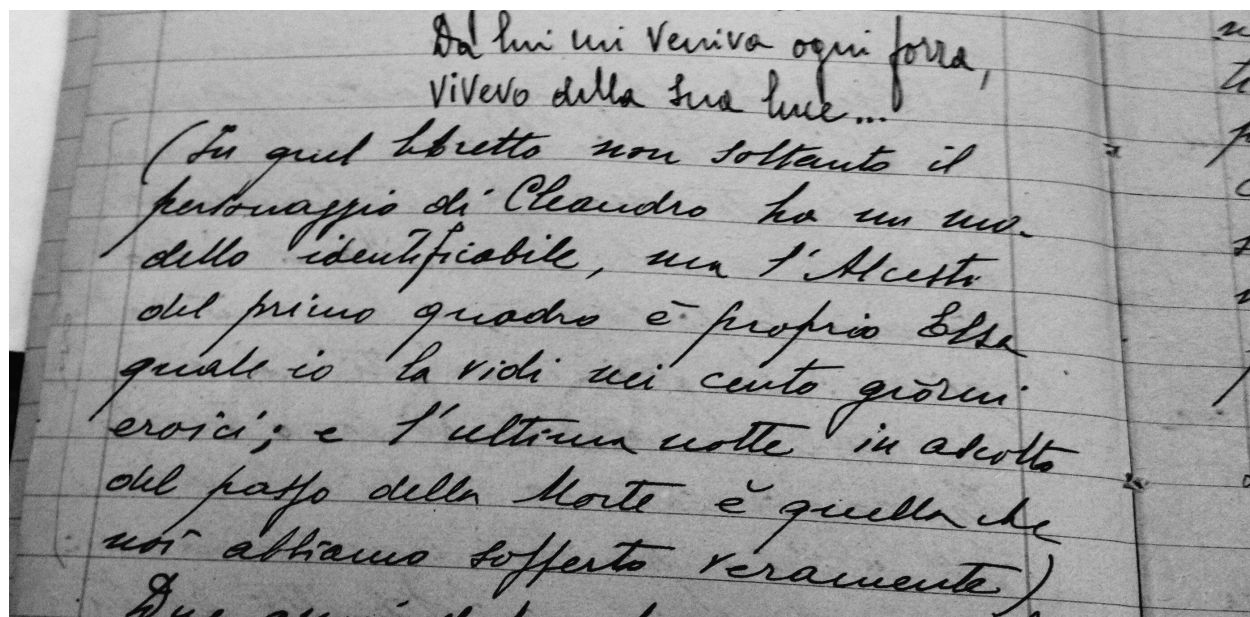
⁶ Luce Irigaray, "How can we create our own beauty?," in *Je, tu, nous: Towards a Culture of Difference*, trans. A. Martin (London: Routledge, 1993), 107–111.

⁷ Ibid., 222, 231, 233, 247, 277. *Il dono di Alceste* is a one-act opera with three scenes. It features the soprano Alceste, tenor Admeto, baritone Cleandro, and contralto La cieca (the blind woman), along with two children, a mixed chorus, and dancers. It is scored for piccolo, two flutes, two oboes, English horn, two clarinets, bass clarinet, two bassoons, contrabassoon, four horns, three trumpets, three trombones, tuba, two harps, piano, tenor drum, cymbals, three timpani, and strings. The Fondazione Cini houses a libretto, voice and piano reduction, a full score, and printed chorus parts. At the end of the score, Olivieri notes that it was completed in "Roma Giugno 1941" (Rome, June 1941). Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo, *Il dono di Alceste*, uncatalogued material, I-Vgc.

unlimited life, and amputation can multiply strength, as the pruner knows well.”⁸ The act of composing the opera was cathartic for Olivieri. Both Guastalla and her biographer Leonardo Bragaglia believed the work to have autobiographical implications and aligned Olivieri with the character of Alceste. Guastalla wrote his libretto with Olivieri and Respighi in mind, recalling the great sacrifices the wife had made for her husband’s career as well as her caring for Respighi in his last days. However, Olivieri was displeased with his interpretations. In fact, she annotated Guastalla’s notebook on the subject to indicate this (See Figure 4.1).

⁸ Ibid., 231. [Certo, da una limitazione può nascere la più vasta vita e una mutilazione può moltiplicare la potenza, come sa il potatore.]

FIG 4.1. Claudio Guastalla's notebook, with a pencil annotation by Olivieri. The text reads: "In that libretto not only the character of Cleandro had an identifiable model [Guastalla], but Alcesti in the first tableau is Elsa herself as I saw her during those hundred heroic days; and the last night, hearing Death passing, is the one where we really suffered." Olivieri bracketed the sentence in pencil, writing simply "No."⁹



Olivieri's rejection of Guastalla's interpretation is important, but the opera can still be viewed as autobiographical allegory.¹⁰ In the original story of Alcestis by Euripides, King Admeto—with help from the god Apollo—has been given permission to cheat death, but only if Admeto can find someone willing to sacrifice his or her own life instead. His devoted wife Alcestis agrees to do so, unwilling to continue life without her love. When the demi-god Heracles visits King Admeto, the king hides his grief in order to enjoy time with his

⁹ Claudio Guastalla, Notebook titled "Respighi I: Appunti raccolti Giugno–Luglio 1942" (Archivio Respighi, S. 17/ II, D. 19, I-Vgc), 2. [In quel libretto non soltanto il personaggio di Cleandro ha un modello identificabile, ma l'Alceste del primo quadro è proprio Elsa quale io la vidi nei cento giorni eroici; e l'ultima notte in ascolto del passo della Morte è quella che noi abbiamo sofferto veramente.]

¹⁰ I was not allowed access to the manuscript score, so I have had to limit my discussion to the libretto.

friend. When Heracles realizes what has happened, he battles with Death and brings Alcestis back to the world of the living.¹¹

The play has long been a subject of feminist inquiry, as scholars have debated whether Alcestis is the main character of the play and whether Euripides intended to question patriarchy and expectations of feminine sacrifice in ancient Greece.¹² Like Guastalla, Bragaglia supports the possibility of an allegorical link from Euripides's play, explaining that Olivieri is Alcestis and Respighi is Admeto:

An explanation of this mystical, transcendental finale will be given with the narration, in another chapter, of the "talks" Elsa had with Ottorino after the death of the Maestro, when she drew the incredulous artist to some séances to talk to her, to give her strength, to justify his departure, a choice because Elsa and Ottorino were together, as Alcestis and her Admeto, in a perfection and an otherworldly happiness that something had to necessarily break—happiness, perfection are not things of this world—and he, the Maestro, had preferred to take leave, leaving the burden of life to his adored wife.¹³

Bragaglia and Guastalla's interpretations fail to acknowledge that the allegory could only consist through a gender exchange in the narrative that occurred in reality: Olivieri could only be represented by the widowed King Admeto, left to manage life without his beloved

¹¹ Euripides, "Alcestis," trans. Richard Aldington. *The Internet Classics Archive*, <http://classics.mit.edu/Euripides/alcestis.html>. Accessed August 20, 2016.

¹² Elaine Aston, *An Introduction to Feminism and Theatre* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 79–80.

¹³ Leonardo Bragaglia, "*Ardendo vivo*": *Elsa Respighi – Tre vite in una; Quasi un romanzo* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1983), 85. [Una spiegazione di questo finale mistico, trascendentale, ce lo darà la narrazione, in altro apposito capitolo, dei "colloqui" avuti di Elsa con Ottorino, dopo la morte del Maestro, quando questi attrasse la incredula artista ad alcune sedute spiritiche per parlarle, per darle forza, per giustificare la sua dipartita, scelta perché Elsa ed Ottorino erano giunti, come Alcestis ed il suo Admeto, ad una perfezione e ad una felicità ultraterrena per cui qualcosa doveva necessariamente spezzarsi—la felicità, la perfezione non son cose di questo mondo—ed egli, il Maestro aveva preferito accomiarsi, lasciando il fardello della vita alla sua adorata sposa.]

Alcestis. This interpretation is further confirmed by the considerable change made by Olivieri and Guastalla in their version of Euripides' story: namely, that Alcestis does not return at the end, but rather "She vanishes into thin air, with a sorrowful song. But life resumes, continues, in their adolescent children."¹⁴ Those who knew her best could only see Olivieri as the assistant to the king, as a supporting character that sacrificed her life to support her husband. They were blinded by their understanding of gender roles and could not even envision her in the obvious role of the sorrowful king who has learned that the loss of his queen is a terrible price to pay for eternal life.

Olivieri submitted *Alceste* to a competition held by the Italian Society of Authors and Publishers; she won their prize, which included a performance of the opera in 1942.¹⁵ Although she finished all of the materials necessary for a performance, she indicates in her memoir that the Society informed her that "the production was impossible due to lack of funds," and "it would be presented as the first new opera after the war." She cryptically adds, "The hegemony of politics was beginning!"¹⁶ The conductor known only as Adriano, who was close to Olivieri and worked with her to record several of Respighi's works, explained that a newspaper had announced "the widow of the Fascist has won the prize!" According to him, she confided to him that these sorts of political statements contributed to her decision to withdraw her compositions from the public sphere and even to decrease

¹⁴ Bragaglia, "*Ardendo vivo*," 84. [E svanisce nell'aria sottile, fra un mesto canto. Ma la vita riprende, continua, nei figlioletti adolescenti.]

¹⁵ SIAE, Società Italiana degli Autori e degli Editore.

¹⁶ Elsa Respighi, *Cinquant'anni*, 247. [Non fu possibile realizzarla per mancanza di fondi. Restò però l'impegno di rappresentarla come prima opera nuova a guerra finita. . . . cominciava l'egemonia della politica!]

her involvement with presentations of her husband's music.¹⁷ I have not located the newspaper article to which Adriano referred, but I have no reason to doubt his statement.

While there is no evidence to suggest that sexism created barriers for the performance of *Il dono di Alceste* directly, it is possible that gender bias also played a role. Olivieri submitted her work using a pseudonym, and the judges may not have realized she was a woman. In 1939, an ad for a performance of *Pianto de la Madonna* ran that referred to her as "Maestro Olivieri S. Giacomo," demonstrating there was some confusion or an attempt to conceal her identity.¹⁸ What is not clear is whether she intentionally obscured her gender through the use of initials or with a false name. Regardless of the reason, *Il dono di Alceste* was never performed.¹⁹

Samurai

While Olivieri was still working on *Il dono di Alceste*, Guastalla suggested creating an opera based on a scene from the Japanese eighteenth-century historical tragedy *Sugawara denju tenarai kagami* (Sugawara and the Secrets of Calligraphy), a puppet play that was later adapted to kabuki. The authors of the play, Takeda Izumo I, Takeda Izumo II, Namiki Sōsuke (Senryū), and Miyoshi Shōraku, depicted the life of Sugawara no Michizane, a ninth-

¹⁷ Email conversation with Adriano, "Re: Elsa Respighi," January 7, 2016. See also Adriano's letter to the editor of BBC Music Magazine, January 12, 2000, <http://www.musicweb-international.com/respighi/bbc.htm>. Accessed August 20, 2016.

¹⁸ "Il pianto della Madonna," *Stampa Sera*, June 15, 1939, <http://www.archiviolaStampa.it/>.

¹⁹ The score remains housed at Fondazione Cini. Although it is not in the public domain, my experience with the foundation suggests that a determined party could access the materials and mount a performance.

century Japanese statesman and scholar.²⁰ The scene Guastalla suggested was entitled “Terakoya” (The Village School), and a version of “Terakoya” in Italian was performed in Rome in 1943 as a theater production—the opening night was February 16—but Guastalla had likely learned of the story from another source.²¹ Carl Orff’s first opera, *Gisei, Das Opfer* (The Sacrifice), was based on “Terakoya” and completed in 1913. Felix Weingartner composed *Die Dorfschule* (The Village School), an opera on the same subject, in 1920. Both composers created their own libretti from a German translation of the play by Karl Florenz.²² Olivieri began composing *Samurai* while still working on *Il dono di Alceste*. She completed it in 1945, giving it the descriptive title *Samurai: Tre atti in quattro quadri dalla tragedia storica “Terakoya” di Takedo Izuno (1688–1756)*.²³

²⁰ Bragaglia, “*Ardendo vivo*,” 86. See also Takeda Izumo, *Sugawara and the Secrets of Calligraphy*, ed. and trans. Stanleigh H. Jones, Jr. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 1–26. “Terakoya” is scene 3 of act 4, and was written by Takeda Izumo II.

²¹ Takeda Izumo, “Terakoya (La scuola di campagna): un atto della tragedia storica dell’antico Giappone,” trans. Rolf Hohenemser, in *Il dramma: rivista mensile di commedie di grande successo* 19, nos. 402–403 (May 15–June 1, 1943): 64–73.

²² Andreas K. W. Meyer, “Carl Orff’s ‘Gisei’,” trans. Susan Marie Praeder, in Carl Orff, *Gisei: Das Opfer*, Deutsche Oper Berlin Orchestra, conducted by Jacques Lacombe, with Kathryn Lewek, Ryan McKinny, Ulrike Helzel, Markus Brück, Elena Zhidkova, Jana Kurucová, Burkhard Ulrich, Choir of the Deutsche Oper Berlin, CPO 777 819-2, 2015, compact disc booklet, 19–20. See also Andreas K. W. Meyer, “Transfer Accomplished: Weingartner’s *Die Dorfschule*,” trans. Susan Marie Praeder, in Felix Weingartner, *Die Dorfschule*, Deutsche Oper Berlin Orchestra, conducted by Jacques Lacombe, with Simon Pauly, Clemens Bieber, Fionnuala McCarthy, Jana Kurucová, Kathryn Lewek, Stephen Bronk, Elena Zhidkova, Hülkar Sabirova, Matthew Peña, CPO 777 813-2, 2015, compact disc booklet, 21–22.

²³ The opera is scored for piccolo, two flutes, two oboes, English horn, two clarinets, bass clarinet, two bassoons, contrabassoon, four horns, three trumpets, three trombones, tuba, timpani, “Japanese gongs,” two harps, vibraphone, chimes, small and large drum, celeste, piano, and strings. Fondazione Cini possesses two short scores for each act, a full score, and several copies of the libretto. Due to restrictions from the Fondazione, I have limited my examination to the third act of the opera. Olivieri’s later works are not in the public domain,

Michizane, the protagonist of the *Sugawara* legend, was a well-known Japanese poet and calligrapher in the ninth century. He acted as godfather to his neighbor's triplets—Ume, Sakura, and Matsuo. The first two served him as samurai. Matsuo—the samurai in the title of Olivieri's opera—served his rival, Shihei, which was a painful betrayal of Michizane. After becoming close to the emperor, Shihei convinced him to eliminate all of Michizane's descendants. Michizane's youngest son was adopted by a friend, Genzo, in a remote village so that he would be hidden from the emperor's wrath. The remote village included a school of Chinese calligraphy known as "Terakoya." This portion of Michizane's story is the episode from which all three operas—those by Olivieri, Orff, and Weingartner—are drawn. The scene is often presented alone, both as a puppet play and in kabuki, because of its emotional intensity. As Karl Florenz writes,

The *Terakoya* act, the high point of the drama, is especially popular, which means that it very often happens to be performed independently. When fairly good actors play the roles of the main characters, the work never fails to make the most powerful impression on the public. However, an exemplary representation with the famous actors Danjuro and Kikugoro in the main roles (Matsuo and Genzo) numbers among the most deeply moving experiences ever offered by a stage in this world. Then no eye remains dry; even Europeans are profoundly stirred by it.²⁴

Matsuo's son attends the school along with Michizane's youngest son, who has been adopted by Genzo and his wife, Tonami, who are both teachers. Although Michizane had

and access to her operas is subject to approval by the foundation and her family. However, as in the case with *Il dono di Alceste*, I believe a determined party could gain access and produce the opera from the materials there.

²⁴ Karl Florenz, "Terakoya: From the Translator's Preface," trans. Susan Marie Praeder, quoted in Felix Weingartner, *Die Dorfschule*, Deutsche Oper Berlin Orchestra, conducted by Jacques Lacombe, with Simon Pauly, Clemens Bieber, Fionnuala McCarthy, Jana Kurucová, Kathryn Lewek, Stephen Bronk, Elena Zhidkova, Hulkar Sabirova, Matthew Peña, CPO 777 813-2, 2015, compact disc booklet, 18–19.

thought he was betrayed by Matsuo, the reality turns out to be otherwise. When Shihei discovers the school and demands the head of Michizane's son, Matsuo proves his loyalty by offering his own son to be sacrificed in place of Michizane's. Because Shihei believes Matsuo to be loyal to him, he accepts Matsuo's identification of the head of the boy.

In the one-act opera versions by Orff and Weingartner, the greater part of the libretto is sung by Matsuo, Genzo, and Tonami. The teachers believe they are conspiring to kill an innocent boy who has just been enrolled in the school in place of their adopted child, who they believe will grow up to defeat the emperor. Only after killing the child do they learn that Matsuo and his wife, a minor character, enrolled their son in the school knowing that he bore a resemblance to their adopted child. Matsuo explains his motivation, thanks Genzo and Tonami for doing the right thing, and all are impressed and humbled by his sacrifice.

Olivieri's three-act opera in four tableaux is also based on "Terakoya," but the longer length allows for greater expression of emotion, along with the addition of prominent characters. Most notably, she and Guastalla expanded the character of Matsuo's wife, giving her the name "Azuma," and the third act centers largely on her singing to express the grief and suffering at the loss of her child supported by a chorus of mothers from the village. When Olivieri declared that the final act "could only have been written by a woman," it seems that she was referring to the additional material featuring the grief of the mothers, which draws focus from Matsuo's sacrifice as the main plot point of the original. Orff and Weingartner did not do this.²⁵

²⁵ Potito Pedarra, foreword to Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo, *Due Canzoni Italiane per chitarra* (Ancona: Bèrben, 2006), 9.

Olivieri adapted the names of the Japanese characters into Italian. For instance, Michizane is altered to Micizané. She also relates the play's author as "Takedo Izuno" rather than Takeda Izumo.²⁶ Her characters include the bass Morizuki (the Lord), Micizané's young son Shyuszi, baritone Matsuo, soprano Azuma, their son Kotaro, dramatic tenor Utamaro (intended to be Ume, brother of Matsuo) as the schoolteacher instead of Genzo, his wife Tonami, bass Ghemba (police captain), and tenor Oisci Kuzanscko (also loyal to Micizané). The opera includes seven boys who are students at the Terakoya school, five of whom sing, while the other two pantomime. There are also four men-at-arms, a mixed chorus, a women's chorus of "lamenting mothers," and a men's chorus of monks and village men.²⁷

The following synopsis owes much to Bragaglia's summary of the opera, though I have confirmed it by studying the libretto.²⁸ The first act features two scenes. Scene One takes place in the palace and features the Lord, known to have usurped the throne, describing an attack by Micizané's followers, whom he ordered killed. He regrets the fact that he allowed Micizané's son to live, as the child could grow up and seek revenge for his father's death. He orders Matsuo, who had advised him to spare the child, to bring the child's head to him. The second scene features Utamaro teaching Shyuszi while Tonami sews. The boy sings a prayer of thankfulness, and his adopted parents join in. In a dialogue,

²⁶ Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo and Claudio Guastalla, *Samurai*, libretto, uncatalogued material, I-Vgc.

²⁷ Bragaglia, "*Ardendo vivo*," 86–87.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 87–94.

the parents acknowledge that the boy is actually the son of Micizané, but when Matsuo enters, they deny this. Utamaro and Matsuo argue about the battle that allowed Lord Morizuki to usurp the throne, and Matsuo tries to explain that he was forced into the Lord's service. Utamaro does not trust him. The chorus confirms that a coup against the Lord has failed.

In the second act, the schoolboys are playing, pretending to be samurai. Azuma brings her child to be enrolled at the school. He interacts with Shyuszi, and Azuma sings an grief-filled goodbye to her child. Utamaro confides to his wife that Azuma's boy looks enough like Shyuszi that he could take his place when the Lord's guards arrive looking for Micizané's boy. She is horrified, but he tells her, "You will be silent! The word is feminine. It betrays! The thought is masculine and in action is expressed."²⁹ The Lord's guards enter, led by Matsuo. The boys are examined by the guards in front of all of the choirs, who sing of their anxiety. Matsuo points to Shyuszi and Azuma's boy and says, "It is that one."³⁰ The boys are offstage, and a boy's decapitation is heard but not seen.

The third act begins with a small casket onstage and the chorus of mothers singing laments. Utamaro and Tonami know that their own child was not killed and wonder if Matsuo knows he made a mistake. A chorus angrily announces Matsuo's arrival. He and Utamaro argue bitterly about their loyalty to Micizané. Matsuo asks if Utamaro knows his secret yet. Azuma appears in mourning clothes and sings of her heartbreak, then asks her husband "What heart of stone have you, Matsuo? For it is not only my creature, this one,

²⁹ Ibid., 90. [Tu tacerai! La parola è femmina... Tradisce!... Il pensiero è maschio e in atto si esprime.]

³⁰ Ibid., 91. [È quello!]

but it is your blood. It is your son!"³¹ Utamaro wonders if she is mad, but slowly realizes she sings the truth. Tonami and Utamaro express a mixture of horror and admiration for Matsuo, and the opera ends with Azuma and the chorus of mothers from the village hauntingly singing, "Mother who cries, your sweet son is transcending to perfect freedom. His name is tied to glory, but only in the infinite is there happiness."³²

Olivieri's opera stands in contrast to Orff and Weingartner's because of her treatment and of the character of Azuma. All three operas feature the character, albeit with different names. In Orff and Weingartner's one-act operas, her main act is that of leaving her son at the school knowing that he will be killed. This also occurs in the second act of Olivieri's opera—Azuma brings her child to the school and expresses anxiety upon leaving, knowing that the child will not survive the day. In the German operas, the story ends shortly after revealing the final plot twist, and very little time is spent on Azuma's grief. In Olivieri's version, Azuma sings an entire aria after the death of her child, giving the audience more time to process the sadness of the story and adding significantly to the portrait of the character. The aria is the focal point of the act, and its theme is foreshadowed in the women's lament at the beginning.

Act three of *Samurai* begins with the women's chorus singing a lament for the dead child in C Aeolian. A raised third occasionally appears, creating a mixed modality, as shown in Example 4.1. The modal mixture foreshadows the idea conveyed by the women's chorus

³¹ Ibid., 93. [Ma che cuore di pietra hai tu, Matsuo? Perché non è soltanto la creatura mia, questa, la mia carne, la mia vita, ma è tuo sangue, è tuo figlio!]

³² Ibid., 94. [Madre che piangi, il tuo dolce figliolo trascende alla perfetta libertà: legato è il nome alla gloria, ma solo nell'infinito è la felicità.]

at the end of the act: “Only in the infinite is there happiness.” In the death lament there exists a glimpse of eternal peace and rest.

EX 4.1. Olivieri, *Samurai*, Act III, p. 1 (short score).³³

The musical score is for a short score from Act III, page 1 of *Samurai* by Elsa Olivieri. It is written in E-flat major (three flats) and common time (C). The score consists of three staves: Soprano, Contralto, and Piano. The Soprano part has two systems of music, each with three measures. The first system has lyrics "Oh!" under the first and third measures. The second system has lyrics "Oh!", "Oh!", and "[Oh!]" under the first, second, and third measures respectively. The Contralto part also has two systems, each with three measures, with lyrics "Oh!" under the first and third measures. The Piano part has two systems, each with three measures. The first system is marked *p* and the second system is marked *mf espress.*. Both systems feature a continuous triplet pattern in the right hand and a more complex rhythmic pattern in the left hand.

³³ Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo, *Samurai*, libretto by Claudio Guastalla, Act 3, short score, manuscript, uncatalogued, I-Vgc.

The women's chorus begins its lament as a wordless moan that rises in pitch to create a wail. The heavy emotion contrasts with Utamaro's reading of an ancient text to accompany the funeral. He sings, "Do not seek what you were before you were born, nor what you are while living, nor what you'll be after death; many are the heights that your view does not reach." His melody is conjunct and syllabic, evoking chanting styles associated with religious services. Under his melody, a true C-minor harmony appears, as tonic and dominant chords are alternated over an arpeggiated bass line, shown in Example 4.2.

EX 4.2. Olivieri, *Samurai*, Act III, pp. 3–4 (short score).

Andante con moto
quasi senza colore

Utamaro

mf Non ri-cer-ca - re che co-sa tu fos-ti pri - ma di na - sce-re, né co-sa sei tu vi -

Ut.

ven - do, né che sa-rai do-po mor - to: mol-te son le al-tez - ze cui la tua vis - ta non

Utamaro's simple melody contrasts with the fluid, expansive lines in the women's chorus, as they respond with a text depicting an analogy of a rotting bud cut off from the branch. Utamaro continues reading, describing the sacred nature of pain, and the women's chorus again seems to rebuke him with the line, "how much pain is in the wide-open eyes that look for mother! It bends painfully, a mouth that will never again open to smile." The melody rises and increases in dynamic from a soft wail to a loud cry. The raised seventh that created the minor harmony for Utamaro is paired with the flat sixth in the bass as the women sing it, adding dissonance and power to their cry, as shown in Example 4.3.

EX 4.3. Olivieri, *Samurai*, Act III, p. 6 (short score).

Coro donne (Soprano)

Ahi_____ quan ta pe - na negli oc - chi sbarra - ti che

Utamaro

- lo - re.

cresc.

(Sop.)

cer - ca no mam ma! S'i - nar - ca pau - rosa u - na boc ca che mai più si schiude al sor - ri - so!

p.

The alternation between Utamaro's reading of the ancient texts and the responses of the women's chorus continues until a crescendo and furious ascending and descending chromatic lines announce the return of Matsuo. The exchange is a clear representation of the dichotomy of masculinity and femininity. Utamaro reads the presumably patriarchal, religious texts that advocate stoicism in the face of tragedy, and the women respond with intense emotion. It is men who set this tragedy in motion, first in war, then in the brutal killing of the child, and the women wail in response to the trite words they are expected to accept as comfort.

After Matsuo arrives and confronts Utamaro, Tonami enters and sings a brief, disjunct introduction to Azuma's aria, shown in Example 4.4. It is dawning on her that Azuma knew that her son would meet a terrible fate, and her melody reflects her anxiety and grief at the realization, that "it seemed as if Heaven inspired in her a harbinger of doom..."

EX 4.4. Olivieri, *Samurai*, Act III, p. 25 (short score).

Tonami

Pa - rea che il Cie - lo le is - pi - ras - se un pre - sa - gio di sven -

tu - ra... O - ra compren - do... Oh, se a - ves - se cac - cia - to il

ff *animando*

Tonami's line becomes increasingly chromatic as Azuma enters. The intensity gives way to a slower, sadder F-sharp Aeolian that recalls the themes from the beginning of the act. The sweeping melodies of the instrumental interlude, seen in Example 4.5, signify that Azuma is already grieving and knows about the death of her son, although she has not yet been told. Like the opening melody, the introduction and first theme of Azuma's aria include an occasional raised third, resulting in the same modal mixture.

EX 4.5. Olivieri, *Samurai*, Act III, p. 27 (short score).

Andante lento
molto dolcemente e legato

The musical score is written for a short score of a scene from *Samurai*. It is in 3/4 time and the key of D major. The tempo is marked **Andante lento** with the instruction *molto dolcemente e legato*. The score is divided into three systems. The first system contains three measures. The second system contains three measures, with a dynamic change to *mf* (mezzo-forte) in the third measure. The third system contains two measures. The vocal line is in the upper staff, and the piano accompaniment is in the lower staves. The piano part features numerous triplets and slurs, indicating a legato style. Dynamics include *p* (piano) and *mf* (mezzo-forte).

The heavenly modal mixture occurs only in the instrumental accompaniment, however. Azuma's melody ignores the modal mixture, creating dissonance as she sings the opening lines of her aria (Example 4.6). The text of the aria is translated in Figure 4.2.

EX 4.6. Olivieri, *Samurai*, Act III, p. 28 (short score).

Azuma

mp quasi parlato

No, non mi di-te nul - la. Il core an - sio-so que mi cor - rea din-

Az.

nan - zi ha già ve - du - to... Co - sì

p legato

Az.

fra - gi - le che an - che u - na pa -

FIG 4.2. Text and translation of Azuma's Aria, from *Samurai*.

Azuma: No, non mi dite nulla.

Il cuore ansioso che mi correva dinnanzi ha già veduto....

Così fragile che anche una parola lo potrebbe spezzare.... Avevo ancora una speranza: è caduta. So, so.

Alloro e rose, perché io non lo veda...

No, non voglio vedere... ma neppure una montagna di fiori, con tutti i suoi profumi, tesoro, potrebbe vincere il soffio della morte.

O figlio, anima cara, dove sei? Se ancora vaghi nel cieco mondo, se m'odi, anima mia, perché non vieni a consolar la tua povera mamma?

Ma che cuore di pietra hai tu, Matsuo? Perché non è soltanto la creatura mia, questa, la mia carne, la mia vita, è tuo sangue, è tuo figlio!

Azuma: No, do not say anything to me.

My anxious heart was racing, but now it has already seen...

So fragile that even one word could break it... I had only one hope: now it is gone. I know, I know.

Laurel and roses, so that I may not see...

No, I don't want to see... not even a mountain of flowers, with all its perfumes, treasures, could overcome the blow of death.

O son, my dear soul, where are you? If you still wander in this blind world, if you hear me, O my soul, why do not you come to comfort your poor mother?

But what heart of stone you have, Matsuo? For it is not only my creature, this one, my flesh, my life, but it is your blood, it is your son!

The second section of the aria begins as Azuma sings the text, "No, I don't want to see..." and features a modulation. The key signature suggests B-major, but the avoidance of pitches B and E results in an F-sharp-major pentatonic mode. The tempo quickens, and the undulating bass and rapidly moving accompaniment combine with the pentatonic mode, as seen in Example 4.7, to create a sound world that commonly appears in works by both Olivieri and Respighi.

EX 4.7. Olivieri, *Samurai*, Act III, p. 30 (short score).

Più mosso
con impeto doloroso

Azuma

No, non vo - glio ve - de - re... ma nep - pu-re u-na mon-ta - gna di

mf 3

The second section becomes increasingly complex, with added tremolos in the accompaniment, shown in Example 4.8, as Azuma struggles to accept the loss of her son. The tempo increases again, abruptly, when she cries softly, “O son, son, where are you?” and begs the soul or spirit of her son to comfort her.

EX 4.8. Olivieri, *Samurai*, Act III, p. 31 (short score).

The musical score is divided into two systems. The first system features Azuma's vocal line (treble clef) and piano accompaniment (grand staff). The vocal line begins with a whole note rest, followed by a half note rest, and then a whole note rest. The piano accompaniment consists of a rapid sixteenth-note arpeggiated figure in the right hand and a slower, more melodic line in the left hand. The second system features Azuma's vocal line (treble clef) and piano accompaniment (grand staff). The vocal line begins with a half note rest, followed by a half note, and then a whole note. The piano accompaniment consists of a rapid sixteenth-note arpeggiated figure in the right hand and a slower, more melodic line in the left hand. The lyrics for the second system are: "Oh! Fi - glio, fi - glio, a -".

As Azuma's grief turns to anger at her husband for the death of her child, the aria spins out of control. On the phrase, "But what heart of stone you have!" Azuma sings the first of several disjunct leaps of a tenth, from D sharp to F sharp (Example 4.9). The accompaniment becomes increasingly chromatic, moving through pentatonic to modified-hexatonic modes, until it is a furious amalgamation of angry, chromatic pitches and dissonant tremolos.

EX 4.9. Olivieri, *Samurai*, Act III, p. 32 (short score).

Azuma

- la - re la tua po - ve - ra mam - ma. Ma che

p espress.

Az.

cuo - re di pie - tra è il tuo Ma - tsu - o? Per -

mf

Az.

chè non è sol - tan - to la crea - tu - ra mi - a

mf

Azuma concludes her accusation on a high B flat, at the beginning of a transition to a duet with Matsuo, who sings, “Let us cry together, my love, this is all we can do. Your pain is endless, and endless is my bitter torment. Yours is the largest, because you are the mother.” Azuma’s part continues as a wordless lament that ranges from low moans to high screams in the upper tessitura of the soprano voice. The duet (Example 4.10) eventually gives way to a quartet, in which Utamaro and Tonami express their horror and gratitude for what has happened.

EX 4.10. Olivieri, *Samurai*, Act III, p. 33 (short score).

Andante con moto

Azuma *ff* fi - glio! —

Matsuo *f* Pian - ge - re in - sie - me a mor mi - o —

Az. Oh!

Mats. sol que - stopos - sia - mo.

Az. Oh!

Mats. Il tuo do - lo - re è sen - za fi - ne, e sen za fi - ne il

Formally, the aria places Olivieri in the historical line of Italian composers such as Rossini, Verdi, and Puccini. Olivieri creates smooth transitions between arias, duets, and choruses. The two-part form presented in Azuma's aria bears a resemblance to the Rossini aria type, with the tempo increasing in certain sections and the vocal line increasing in virtuosity throughout. However, Olivieri is not using the form to demonstrate the virtuosic ability of a singer. Instead, the aria has more in common with the mad scenes of Donizetti and Verdi, as Azuma is overcome by her own emotion. Virtuosic elements in the music always exist to highlight the drama in the opera.

Azuma's grief is the central focus of the third act of *Samurai*. Her solo aria takes up six pages of the fifty-four-page short score, and her cries continue through the rest of the act as Matsuo, Utamaro, and Tonami, who had been witnessing her sing, enter into the conversation. Bragaglia suggested that Matsuo's sacrifice is a representation of Olivieri's own sacrifice at the loss of her compositional career.³⁴ This is plausible, as it seems likely that she composed *Samurai* without any expectation that it would ever be performed. It is one of the last works she composed, although she lived for fifty years after it was completed. However, there are other possibilities to consider. At the time she composed the opera, Olivieri was still working through grief at the loss of her husband, which increased when the Italian government requisitioned the use of their home to house

³⁴ Ibid., 97. "As for the other 'inhuman' sacrifice, that of Matsuo who in *Samurai* sacrifices his own son to an ideal, it is clear what I mean when I compare Elsa to this character, so devoid of humanity: she, our composer, has also sacrificed her own creatures, her own musical creatures, to sublime love. It is clear." [In quanto all'altro "disumano" sacrificio, quello di Matsuo, che nei *Samurai* sacrifica il proprio figlio all'ideale, è chiaro a cosa alludo paragonando Elsa a questo personaggio, così poco umano: anche lei, la nostra compositrice ha sacrificato la propria creatura, le proprie creature musicali, al proprio sublime amore. È chiaro.]

German troops stationed in Rome.³⁵ The soldiers damaged Respighi's studio. Like many who lived through the Second World War, Olivieri found herself disillusioned and depressed by the world at large. While Matsuo's sacrifice may represent her own, the grief of the women's chorus echoes the grief of so many mothers and wives who lost their sons and husbands. Olivieri aligned her grief with theirs and joined them in the desperate hope that there would indeed be happiness in the infinite beyond.

Lucrezia

After Respighi died, Olivieri completed *Lucrezia* and sent the music to Ricordi; she was careful to note exactly which portions she had finished. She composed, completed, or copied from the short score 130 pages of the 234-page score.³⁶ Olivieri felt she "knew the opera by heart, because in the afternoon Ottorino would always let me hear what he had composed in the morning."³⁷ Taking care not to let her own creativity get in the way of

³⁵ Elsa Respighi, *Cinquant'anni*, 248–249.

³⁶ Pedarra, "Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo," 657–658n. "...from page 69 to the second measure of page 104, the score was completely written by the Maestro. From the third measure of page 104 to page 193, the score was written by the Maestro, minus the vocal part copied by me from the short score. From page 194 to page 216, I wrote the full score based on the short score. From page 217 to page 229, the score was written by the Maestro, with vocal parts copied and adapted by me. From page 230 to page 234, I wrote the score based on the composition of the Maestro." [Da pag. 69 alla seconda battuta del 104 completamente scritta dal Maestro. Dalla terza battuta della pag. 104 a pag. 193 partitura del Maestro senza parte del canto da me copiata dalla composizione scritta su tre righe. Da pag. 194 a pag. 216 partitura fatta da me su la composizione scritta su tre righe. Da par. 217 a pag. 229 partitura del Maestro, parti di canto da me copiate e adattate. Da pag. 230 a pag. 234 partitura fatta da me su la composizione del Maestro.]

³⁷ Elsa Respighi, *Cinquant'anni*, 207. [Conoscevo l'opera a memoria perché Ottorino mi faceva sempre ascoltare nel pomeriggio quello che aveva composto la mattina.]

Respighi's conception, she explains that she searched through his other scores to find chord sequences that resembled passages in *Lucrezia*. In recounting the story of the opera's production, Olivieri quotes the artistic director of La Scala, Victor De Sabata, who told her, "Elsa, you know that I know Respighi's scores thoroughly. Yet I can tell you that I have been unable to discern which pages you composed."³⁸ Olivieri was proud of this moment, describing his words as "the highest compliment."³⁹

Linda Whitesitt, in a book chapter entitled "Women's Support and Encouragement of Music and Musicians," cautions us from downplaying the role of women in promoting and assisting in the composition and performance of music. Rather than accept the idea of the artist as an "individual and isolated genius," she encourages us to look at "systems rather than individuals as the architects of art."⁴⁰ This is especially relevant to the case of Olivieri, who not only encouraged Respighi's music, but also helped him make decisions about its content. Olivieri's status as Respighi's supporter and encourager, in Whitesitt's view, should be elevated to that of an important element of the system that resulted in the production of his great works of art; her role should not be minimized or misunderstood as being less important than her husband's role, even if she did not contribute as directly as he did to the creative development of his music. Olivieri's support was integral to Respighi's career.

³⁸ Ibid., 211. [Elsa, Lei sa se io conosco profondamente le partiture di Respighi; ebbene, Le posso dire che non sono riuscito a distinguere quali sono le pagine da Lei compiute.]

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Linda Whitesitt, "Women's Support and Encouragement of Music and Musicians," in *Women & Music: A History*, 2nd edition, ed. Karin Pendle (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 481.

Moreover, Olivieri had been influencing the creation of *Lucrezia* all along. The couple had a close working relationship, and she could be candid in her opinion of his work, making comments such as, “You know, I think there are eight bars too many here.” Olivieri claims that Respighi would come back to her a few days later having made her requested changes and would say, “You were right, Elsa.”⁴¹ In his notebooks, Guastalla agrees that Olivieri’s contributions were significant, although he focuses on aspects of domestic care and encouragement, writing,

Elsa was Respighi’s inspiration and champion, his comfort and spur. And Respighi often sorely needed the last two: comfort because of his bouts of acute depression; a spur, to rouse him from his occasional fits of laziness . . . Respighi was an admirable and excellent artist, but a simple, good-natured man, ingenuous and reflective, and sometimes a little indolent . . . shy, easily discouraged and readily influenced.⁴²

Moreover, Olivieri’s encouragement was not limited to Respighi. Guastalla continues,

Working with a man like me could have been harmful to Respighi, because unfortunately I tend to be full of doubts, skeptical, often depressed and sometimes depressing, naturally inclined more to reflection than action... Without her vigorous encouragement, I would never have written the librettos of *La Fiamma* and *Lucrezia*, and Respighi would never have

⁴¹ Conversation with composer, Adriano in Rome, September 12, 1977. Preserved online at http://www.musicweb-international.com/respighi/Adriano_Elsa_Vol6.htm (Accessed 13 December 2012.) Potentially also preserved in audio format at the NYPL for the Performing Arts.

⁴² Claudio Guastalla’s notebooks (Archivio Respighi S. 17 / II, D. 19, I-Vgc), quoted in Elsa Respighi, *Ottorino Respighi* (Milan: Ricordi, 1954), 290–291. [Elsa fu per Respighi ispiratrice e esaltatrice, conforto e sprone. E di tutto ciò Respighi aveva spesso bisogno grande: di conforto, perché ebbe periodi di profondo scoramento; di sprone perché a volte la pigrizia non lo vincere . . . Respighi fu artista ammirevole e squisito, ma uomo semplice e bonario, ingenuo e contemplativo, a volte un po’ pigro . . . era un timido, facile allo scoramento e docile a ogni suggestione.]

composed the music.⁴³

Olivieri did not claim to have influence on the composition of *Lucrezia* apart from the portion of the score she finished. However, there is a strong possibility she persuaded Respighi to add a character, “The Voice,” who sings from the orchestra and functions as a narrator. Evidence for Olivieri’s contribution is found in a libretto translated into French at the Ricordi Archives that bears her name as author—despite the fact that she claims Guastalla was the librettist.⁴⁴ Her involvement in the creation of the opera is undeniable. She describes at the opening of *Lucrezia* being nervous about her own work on the music, but also about the audience’s reaction to the character of “The Voice.” She recalls the experience in her memoir:

In addition to the memories and the trepidation that accompany all premieres, and in addition to the torment caused by the invisible presence of Ottorino and by the doubts concerning all that I had done—in addition to that, during rehearsals I was ill. This worsened my agony. I was also very worried about the character located in the orchestra, who had been entrusted with the most beautiful moments of the opera. Respighi had called this character “the Voice,” and I wondered what effect the Voice would have on the audience. But everything worked out for the best, and the opera was very well received.⁴⁵

⁴³ Ibid., 292. [La consuetudine con un uomo quale io sono avrebbe potuto esser talvolta dannosa a Respighi: io sono purtroppo dubbioso, scettico, critico, depresso sovente e talora deprimente, portato da natura più alla riflessione che all’azione. . . . Senza così energica animatrice, né io avrei scritto il libretto di *Fiamma* e di *Lucrezia*, né Respighi avrebbe composto la musica.]

⁴⁴ “LUCRECE / opéra en un acte et trois moments / d'Ottorino Respighi / livret d'Elsa Respighi / tiré d'une histoire de Claudio Guastalla / traduit en français par Rita Ubriace,” Archivio storico Ricordi, LIBR00537, I-Mr.

⁴⁵ Elsa Respighi, *Cinquant’anni*, 212. [Durante le prove, oltre ai ricordi e alle trepidazioni che accompagnano ogni prima rappresentazione, oltre al tormento di quella presenza invisibile del Maestro e ai dubbi per quanto avevo fatto, la salute mi mancava e questo aggravava il mio stato di angoscia. Ero anche molto in pensiero per il personaggio posto in orchestra che Respighi aveva chiamato la “Voce,” alla quale erano affidati i momenti più belli dell’opera. Mi

While she does not specifically claim to have had any involvement with the creation of the character of “The Voice,” one cannot help but wonder if her interest in the character had something to do with her influence on the character who speaks for Lucrezia during scene in which she is raped. A comparison of the music and text in Benjamin Britten’s *The Rape of Lucretia* to the music and text in *Lucrezia* suggests the added presence of a female perspective in Respighi’s opera through the character of “The Voice.”

Lucrezia was completed in 1936, five years before the premiere of *The Rape of Lucretia*, composed by Benjamin Britten on a libretto by Ronald Duncan, which may have been influenced by Respighi’s work.⁴⁶ Both libretti draw from Shakespeare’s *The Rape of Lucrece*, among other sources.⁴⁷ Britten also includes character that function as narrators, but his consist of one male and one female voice. In response to the rape scene, these chorus characters explain that “this is endless sorrow and pain for Him,” and “Virtue has only one desire: to let its blood flow back into the wounds of Christ.”⁴⁸ The libretto further associates Lucretia’s suffering with that of Jesus Christ and his mother, Mary.

The version of the story by Britten and Duncan contrasts dramatically with the

domandavo quale effetto avrebbe fatto sul pubblico: invece tutto andò per il meglio e l’opera fu accolta col più grande favore.]

⁴⁶ Britten commented to Olivieri in 1947: “It could be said that Respighi was one of my teachers. I regret very much not having been able to meet him in person, but I have studied all his scores in depth and I learned a great deal from them.” [Respighi è stato, si può dire, uno dei miei Maestri e mi dispiace molto di non averlo potuto conoscere. Ma ho studiato a fondo tutte le sue partiture ricavandone molti insegnamenti.] Quoted in Elsa Respighi, *Cinquant’anni*, 260.

⁴⁷ Guastalla’s notebooks, quoted in Elsa Respighi, *Ottorino Respighi*, 319.

⁴⁸ Benjamin Britten and Ronald Duncan, *The Rape of Lucretia*, libretto (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 2000). Act II, Interlude.

version by Respighi and Guastalla; the response of “The Voice” to Lucrezia’s rape is also substantially different from that of the narrators in Britten’s version. It sings, “Darkness. A desperate surrender... a long lament... a sob of a child desperately alone. A dull horror fills the soul, a mortal weight hangs over the beautiful limbs destroyed by kisses.”⁴⁹ After the rape, Lucrezia continues in silence, not telling her household servants what happened, but rather insisting that “Silence is necessary, until I announce it to whom I must: religious silence.”⁵⁰ She waits only to tell her story to her husband, and once she is convinced that he believes her and will avenge her death, she kills herself.

During the time in which Respighi began composing *Lucrezia* and Olivieri finished it, in Italy rape was not classified as a crime against an individual, but rather against public morality.⁵¹ In “The masculine mystique: antimodernism and virility in fascist Italy,” Sandro Bellassai explains that the nineteenth and twentieth centuries brought to Italy “the fear of the emasculating elements of modernity,” which led to both the objectification of women and a glorification of violence.⁵² Bellassai explains:

⁴⁹ Ottorino Respighi, *Lucrezia*, Slovak Radio Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Adriano, with Stefania Kaluza, Michela Remor, Adriana Kohútová, Denisa Šlepkovská, Ludvik Ludha, Igor Pasek, Richard Haan, Ján Ďurčo, Rado Hanák, Marco Polo 8.223717, 1995, compact disc booklet, 30. English translation by William Weaver. [Tenebre. Un abbandono disperato... un lungo lamento un singhiozzo di bimbo perduto solo. Occupa un torpido orrore l’anima, un peso mortale grava le belle membra devastate dai baci.]

⁵⁰ Ibid., 32. [È necessario il silenzio, finché non l’annunzi a chi devo: religioso silenzio.]

⁵¹ Amy Jo Everhart, “Predicting the Effect of Italy’s Long-Awaited Rape Law Reform on ‘The Land of Machismo.’” *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law* 31, no. 3 (May 1998): 671-718.

⁵² Sandro Bellassai, “The masculine mystique: antimodernism and virility in fascist Italy,” *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 10, no. 3 (September 2005): 315-316.

In order to legitimize violence itself and therefore render ethically accessible this manly experience to a potentially unlimited number of men, fascism invoked an eternal and transcendental norm, one that was above history and thus ontologically antimodern, and of divine or natural origin.⁵³

Italian law required and indeed still requires a querela—a formal request that the state prosecute an alleged rapist—in order for a crime of rape to be prosecuted. Once the querela has been placed, it is irrevocable.⁵⁴

The same idea infuses the aftermath of the Lucrezia legend. Lucrezia's rape becomes a catalyst that allows the men who know her to rebel against the prince of Rome who raped her. The rape is a crime not against Lucrezia, but against her entire village. She is not comforted and consoled; she is avenged with yet more violence. The violence may mollify the villagers, but it brings no solace to Lucrezia herself. Britten's *The Rape of Lucretia* largely supports the idea that rape is primarily a crime against a community. By association with the theme of Christ-like sacrifice, rape becomes a conflict with morality or God. In contrast, "The Voice" in Respighi's *Lucrezia* reminds the audience that the crime also has deeply personal implications; Lucrezia's cry is "a sob of a child desperately alone."⁵⁵

The music that Respighi composed to accompany the rape of Lucrezia, marked "Allegro con impeto appassionato," is impassioned, tonal, and even beautiful. The sound world is that of a romantic love story, contrasting vividly with the same moment in the score of Benjamin Britten's version, which is dissonant and violent. Respighi's music tells

⁵³ Ibid., 318.

⁵⁴ Rachel A. Van Cleave, "Rape and Querela in Italy: False Protection of Victim Agency," *Michigan Journal of Gender and Law* 13, no. 273 (January 2007): 273–310.

⁵⁵ Ottorino Respighi, *Lucrezia*, compact disc booklet, 30. [un singhiozzo di bimbo perdutoamente solo]

the story from the perspective of the rapist, who is overcome by his passion for Lucrezia before he assaults her. Lucrezia's thoughts and emotions are not readily apparent in the music. The brutality of the crime has left her unable to express any thoughts. It is "The Voice" that speaks for her when she cannot speak for herself.

We have seen that Olivieri had a strong influence in the composition of *Lucrezia*. The music itself does not reveal her particular voice, despite the fact that she finished the work after her husband's death. She finished the opera in his style and chose to not add her own commentary to the piece. Perhaps she had nothing to add because she had already worked with Guastalla and Respighi to create the character of "the Voice," adding unique insight into Lucrezia's experience.

Jack Halberstam writes, "The queer art of failure turns on the impossible, the improbable, the unlikely, and the unremarkable. It quietly loses, and in losing, it imagines other goals for life, for love, for art, and for being."⁵⁶ It may come as a disappointment to feminist scholars that Olivieri chose to support her husband rather than assert her own voice as a composer. Scholars working to recover women's voices in the history of music may even be frustrated to the point of anger that such recovery is not possible in this case, and such anger might in some ways be seen as parallel to the righteous anger invoked by Lucrezia's suicide. Olivieri's idea of success was, as much as we may not like to admit it, different from those of such scholars. Olivieri's agency and commitment to personal ideals are part of her story, which numbers among those about women who do their best work within the rigid structures of their societies as well as finding ways to work around them.

⁵⁶ Judith Halberstam, *The Queer Art of Failure* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2011), 88.

In the end, both Olivieri and Lucrezia leave much unsaid, and we can only speculate what thoughts occurred within their silence.

Conclusion

Sacrifice is the common thread that runs through all three of the operas discussed in this chapter. Olivieri openly struggled with the sacrifice of her artistic identity and creative self, and she appears to intentionally align herself with characters who put those they love ahead of themselves. While Olivieri's own struggles can be seen as a product of being a woman in her environment, the characters she associated herself with are both women and men. Ultimately, sacrifice is not the province of any one gender, nor is the struggle to balance personal fulfillment with cultural expectations. A gendered lens is useful for examining Olivieri's relationship to her work, and especially for understanding her contributions to Respighi's *Lucrezia*. However, Olivieri's own operas also have the potential for universal appeal, with complex characters and evocative music woven together into profound works of art.

CONCLUSION

*Ma solo nell'infinito è la felicità.*¹

Olivieri's musical output, influence on Respighi, professional and social interactions, and keen perception of musical style have produced much that is worthy of attention. My work suggests a number of avenues for continued study on Olivieri. More could be done to verify Olivieri's encounters and create an objective biography. Many of her works that are not examined here—the short song cycle *Dai "Rubaiyat" di Omar Kayam*, the ballet *Pelle d'asino*, and the cantata *Caterina da Siena*, for instance—have been published or have manuscripts available for study at the Fondazione Cini in Venice. There is more that could be done in regard to understanding the movements of artists under the rule of fascist regimes and appropriation of nationalist music by politicians. There is also more to understand about the complicated relationship of gender to music writing, and the relationship between Olivieri and Respighi provides a unique case to consider mutual influence and gender in the creative process.

At the end of her three-hundred-page memoir, which is filled with exciting descriptions of performances and interactions—being personally escorted by Walt Disney through his studios in 1945, hearing Maria Callas in Florence in 1953—Olivieri admits that she lived an exceptionally full life.² She explains that, “intense activity, such as I have lived, subjectively lengthens life... It seems to me that I have lived for more than one hundred

¹ Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo and Claudio Guastalla, *Samurai*, manuscript. Uncatalogued material, I-Vgc. [But only in the infinite is there happiness.]

² See Appendix B for a timeline of these and other important events.

years.”³ When she wrote this, she had lived slightly more than eighty years. She would, in fact, live for twenty more.

Olivieri also points out that a long life will necessarily bring painful experiences along with the profound. She quotes Oscar Wilde, who said, “Those who live more than one life, must die more than one time!”⁴ She describes the “bloom” of youth, and its shift to “a muddy, cold way, wrapped in fog.”⁵ Her final words suggest a growing discomfort with her long life, as she describes death as peaceful and ends her memoir with the question, “Death, can it represent the ultimate blossom of life?”⁶ These ideas echo the sentiment of the final scene of her opera, *Samurai*, and suggest that the pain of losing her husband, her home, and her creative output resulted in a quiet despair that may not have characterized her interactions with the world, but that certainly colored her innermost thoughts. This despair is echoed most profoundly in the full description of her second renunciation of her work. In a heart-breaking passage in her memoir, she recounts,

When I realized that my fights on behalf of Respighi had closed all the doors to affirming my own work, I decided not to do anything new, and I further requested Ricordi, who had begun publishing my songs back in 1918, to not reprint them. This renunciation was of the most painful kind. A long silence,

³ Elsa Respighi, *Cinquant’anni di vita nella musica: 1905–1955* (Roma: Trevi, 1977), 297. [Ma una intensa attività come quella che io ho vissuto, allunga soggettivamente la vita . . . a me sembra di aver vissuto più di cento anni.]

⁴ This quote is a translation of Olivieri’s Italian translation of Wilde’s original quote, “For he who lives more lives than one/ More deaths than one must die,” from *The Ballad of Reading Gaol* (London: Smithers, 1899), 19. Because of the nature of the Italian language, Olivieri’s quote appears to contain more gender-neutral language than the original. [E. Respighi, *Cinquant’anni*, 298. “Chi ha più di una vita vissuta, deve più di una volta morire.”]

⁵ E. Respighi, *Cinquant’anni*, 298. “Un viottolo fangoso, freddo, avvolto nella nebbia.”

⁶ Ibid. “La morte, può rappresentare il fiore estremo della vita?”

almost death: a great renunciation because of which I spent frightening months at the edge of madness. But it was necessary to give up composing and separate myself from my work in order to continue to live and to serve the cause of Respighi. I believe I succeeded in doing so, but at what price! Only a part of me survives. The best or the worst? I often play canasta, and I enjoy playing. Some people are surprised and ask me how it is possible for me to waste my time that way. And I think, "It is true. But has it not been equally useless to have dedicated time to composing *Alceste* and *Samurai* and, even more harmful and foolish to dedicate time to seeking out some reason for human existence?"⁷

Alceste and *Samurai* are brilliant works, worthy of performance and study. It is tragic that she felt it had been useless to spend time creating them.

Internalized bias and systemic bias, as experienced by women and people of color, have had a great and lasting impact on Western classical music. As noted previously, Clara Schumann—arguably the most famous historical woman composer—said, "A woman must not wish to compose—there was never one able to do it."⁸ Schumann did frequently doubt her own ability, but her statement also reflects external realities for women composers, which continue to be complicated by internalized and systemic bias over a century later. Even today, there are those who express shock at the news that a composition thought to

⁷ Ibid., 276–277. [Quando mi accorsi che le mie lotte per Respighi mi avevano chiuso tutte le porte per affermare il mio lavoro, decisi di non fare più nulla di nuovo e pregai Casa Ricordi, che aveva cominciato a pubblicare le mie liriche già nel 1918, finitane l'edizione, di non ristamparle. Fu una rinuncia fra le più penose. Un lungo silenzio, quasi la morte: una grande rinuncia a causa della quale ho passato mesi spaventosi, al limite della pazzia. Ma rinunciare a comporre e distaccarmi dall'opera mia era necessario per continuare a vivere e a servire la causa di Respighi. Credo di esserci riuscita, ma a che prezzo! Solo una parte di me sopravvive: la migliore o la peggiore? Gioco spesso a canasta e mi diverte giocare. Qualcuno se ne meraviglia e mi chiede come è possibile che io perda così il mio tempo. Ed io penso: "È vero, ma non è stato altrettanto inutile il tempo che io ho impiegato a comporre 'Alceste' e 'Samurai' e ancora più dannoso e sciocco il tempo perso a ricercare una qualche ragione all'esistenza umana?]

⁸ Quoted in Nancy B. Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 216.

be by Felix Mendelssohn was in fact composed by his sister, Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel.⁹ Bias is perpetuated by the Metropolitan opera, which has presented only two operas by women during its entire existence, and by the Los Angeles Philharmonic, which relegated its few performances of works by women to events outside of its main calendar in the 2016–2017 season.¹⁰ Bias is also perpetuated by textbooks that tokenize William Grant Still's "Afro-American Symphony" (1930), while avoiding his other numbered symphonies and those by other African-American composers like Florence Price (1887–1953) or Margaret Bonds (1913–1972).¹¹ These external forces drive internal bias, and the combination often causes marginalized composers to expect their artistic endeavors to fail. The results can be seen in evidence presented by composer Annie Gosfield in 2013 who described her own experience as a judge of score calls and found that women composers were frequently successful. She explains, "female composers frequently make up about ten percent of the initial applicant pool [for score calls], but often represent twenty percent of

⁹ Derek Hawkins, "A Mendelssohn masterpiece was really his sister's. After 188 years, it premiered under her name," *The Washington Post*, March 9, 2017. Accessed 15 March 2017 at https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2017/03/09/a-mendelssohn-masterpiece-was-really-his-sisters-after-188-years-it-premiered-under-her-name/?utm_term=.f53a0b8f8275.

¹⁰ Liane Curtis, "Follow-up on our 2016–2017 Repertoire Report," Women's Philharmonic Advocacy Blog, September 8, 2016. Accessed 15 March 2017 at <http://www.wophil.org/2016/followup-2016-17-repertoire/>
The Metropolitan Opera Archives, Accessed 15 March 2017 at <http://archives.metoperafamily.org/archives/frame.htm>

¹¹ J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 9e. (NY: Norton, 2014), 900–901.

the awardees.”¹² These numbers make clear that the problem is not a lack of talent among women composers, but rather a lack of women composers applying to score calls. While this is not always the reason why women composers are not programmed, it is important to understand that it is, nevertheless, one of the reasons.

Although it is inarguable that Olivieri was affected by internal and external biases that she encountered, the question of whether she would have preferred a different life path is more complicated. Olivieri was generous with her time and resources before and after meeting Respighi. She enjoyed supporting others in their endeavors—a trait that surely drew her into relationship with Respighi. There is no doubt that she would have preferred a life that allowed her to be both an autonomous artist and a good wife, but that was not a possibility. Instead, she crafted a life for herself that gave her more access to musical culture than a life without Respighi would have. After his death, she chose to support his works at the expense of her own, because she could not bring herself to do the opposite. She believed in Respighi’s genius, she could use his legacy to maintain her access to the highest levels of the music industry, and it was easier to earn a living from his work than from her own.

The legacy that Olivieri leaves is an important one that offers a new understanding of feminist aesthetics and modernism in the context of fascist Italy. Her unique style traits of nuanced exoticism, setting folk and ancient melodies, and complex realizations of female characters in opera were, in many ways, ahead of their time. It is regrettable that the conditions of fascism and Respighi’s association with it have diminished performances and

¹² Annie Gosfield, “Confessions of a ‘Composeress,’” *The New York Times*, August 6, 2013. Accessed on September 19, 2014 at <http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/08/06/confessions-of-a-composeress/>

examinations of both composers' works. While Respighi's relationship with fascism may never be entirely clear, other composers, such as Richard Strauss and Richard Wagner, have largely escaped condemnation for their associations with the Nazi party (in the case of the former) and with anti-Semitism (in the case of the latter). While all three of these composers experienced success and fame and were acknowledged as "master composers" in their own lifetimes, only Respighi has been frequently excluded from the canon of Western classical music.¹³

It is easy to question Olivieri's choices from a distance and to wish that her life circumstances allowed her to fully develop her creative self. One can recognize that the choices she made in life were in her own best interest and still feel wistful that she did not live to witness her great success as a composer and that so many of her compositions remain unpublished, unperformed, and unknown. Throughout her memoir, Olivieri appears to quote her aunt when she wants to maintain her modesty and also express pride in her work. In the following passage, Aunt Mimmi describes the result of Olivieri denying her creative self:

One thing is for sure. The union of Ottorino and Elsa was a masterpiece. To the happy association Ottorino brought his great talent as an artist, and Elsa all the rest. Without Elsa to cheer him on, Respighi would have left fewer beautiful operas to the world. Without Respighi, Elsa would probably have had a less splendid life, but she would still have amounted to something.¹⁴

¹³ Ottorino Respighi does not appear in Burkholder, Grout, and Palisca's *A History of Western Music*, 9th ed. Taruskin grants him less than one and one-half pages in "Music in the Early Twentieth Century," Volume 4 of *The Oxford History of Western Music*, 750–755. The conductor Toscanini is afforded nearly three pages.

¹⁴ Ibid., 243–244. "Una verità è ben certa; l'unione di Ottorino e di Elsa fu un capolavoro. In questa felice associazione Ottorino portò il suo grande talento di artista, Elsa tutto il resto. Senza una simile animatrice, Respighi avrebbe dato al mondo qualche bella opera di meno;

The insinuation is clear: without Olivieri, Respighi would not have accomplished as much, and without Respighi, Olivieri might have accomplished more. But, achieving success with her own work would have been significantly more difficult, and her accomplishments would have been at the expense of her wonderful life with Respighi, their collaborative efforts, and the equally fascinating life she lived as his widow and champion. In the end, Olivieri chose to be Elsa Respighi—a charming lady who played canasta with her friends, shared a meal with Toscanini whenever he was in Rome, and dedicated her life to supporting the work of an artist she admired and loved.

senza Respighi Elsa probabilmente avrebbe avuto una vita meno splendida, ma sarebbe pur sempre stata alcuno.”

APPENDIX A

Catalogue

Explanation

My chronological catalogue of Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo Respighi's musical works is based on that of Potito Pedarra.¹ I have added the manuscripts found in the Respighi Collection at the Giorgio Cini Foundation in Venice, Italy (RISM sigla I-Vgc). Other manuscripts are held at the Ricordi Archive in Milan, Italy (RISM sigla I-Mr), the Andrés Segovia Archive in Linares, Spain (RISM sigla E-LINas), and Pedarra's private collection.

Each work is identified by a TITLE. When it is a collection, titles of individual movements are also given. Each individual movement is described in terms of KEY, TIME SIGNATURE, and TEMPO indication. Larger works, such as operas, ballets, or cantatas, do not have this information. DATES of composition, publication and/or first performance are given when known. These are taken from the manuscripts, from Olivieri's memoir *Cinquant'anni*, or from the published score. When no dates are known at all, a brief justification for the chronological choice is given. When a work bears a DEDICATION in the published form or on the manuscript, that is also given. INSTRUMENTATION is described when dealing with ensembles or a solo instrument. Vocal and stage works are described in terms of individual PARTS. In vocal works, the author of the POEM is given, along with publishing information when relevant. For stage works, the author and sources of the LIBRETTO are given. The SOURCES are, where available, autographs. When no autograph

¹ See catalogue in Potito Pedarra, "Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo: La vita, le opere," in *Gli anniversari musicali del 1997*, Potito Pedarra and Piero Santi, eds. (Milan: Centro Culturale Rosetum, 1997), 655–663.

or copyist's manuscript is available, the source is the published version. Each manuscript is detailed in terms of number of pages, dimensions, number of staves per page, and watermark/printing house. A COMMENTARY elaborates on the chronological choice, when necessary. Sometimes, it also contextualizes the work, connecting it with others in Olivieri's production, or in Respighi's. Finally, a DISCOGRAPHY details the available commercial recordings of a work or movement/number.

001

TITLE: "*Permettete*"

KEY: B \flat TIME SIGNATURE: 2/2 TEMPO: Andante

DATES: 1904–1905

INSTRUMENTATION: Voice and piano.

POEM: by Arturo Olivieri Sangiacomo (1861–1903)

SOURCES: 2 manuscript copies, I-Vgc. 8/7p. 28,5 x 21,6cm, 12-staff paper, apparently cut from bigger folio.

COMMENTARY: Olivieri references this song in her memoir: "It was at that time that I set to music a poem 'Permettete,' based on words of my father."²

002

TITLE: *Preludio e fuga a 2 voci*

KEY: B \flat TIME SIGNATURE: 4/4 TEMPO: [none given]

DATES: 1915, inscription in the manuscript.

INSTRUMENTATION: Piano

SOURCES: Manuscript copy, I-Vgc. 9p., 28,5 x 21,6cm, 12-staff paper, apparently cut from bigger folio.

COMMENTARY: The staff paper is very similar to that of *Permettete*, 1° *Tempo di sonata per pianoforte*, and *Variazioni*. Olivieri enrolled in Respighi's Fugue and Composition class in October 1915. She mentions in her memoir that Respighi "had such a unique way of teaching the rules of the fugue, the sonata, or the quartet that we absorbed them almost inadvertently."³

² Elsa Respighi, *Cinquant'anni di vita nella musica: 1905–1955* (Roma: Trevi, 1977), 13. Fu in quell'epoca che musicai una lirica su parole di mio padre dal titolo "Permettete."

³ Elsa Respighi, *Cinquant'anni*, 46. Il Maestro aveva un modo così particolare di insegnarci le regole della Fuga, della Sonata o del Quartetto, che esse entravano in noi quasi inavvertitamente.

003

TITLE: *1° Tempo di sonata per pianoforte*

KEY: C Major TIME SIGNATURE: 4/4 TEMPO: Allegro con fuoco

DATES: [1915]

INSTRUMENTATION: Piano

SOURCES: 2 manuscript copies, I-Vgc. One copy is complete, 16p., the other has only 12p. and breaks after m. 198. 28,5 x 21,6cm, 12-staff paper, apparently cut from bigger folio.

COMMENTARY: The staff paper is very similar to that of *Permettete, Preludio e fuga a 2 voci*, and *Variazioni*.

004

TITLE: *Variazioni*

KEY: B \flat TIME SIGNATURE: 4/4 TEMPI: I. Andante sostenuto, II. Allegretto grazioso, III. Moderato (minor), IV. Allegro, V. Moderato, VI. [in 12/8, unmarked]

DATES: [1915]

INSTRUMENTATION: Piano

SOURCES: 2 manuscript copies, I-Vgc. Earlier version, 4p., incomplete, pencil tracked with black pen, ending after the first nine measures of IV; complete, cleaner copy, 9p. 28,5 x 21,6cm, 12-staff paper, apparently cut from bigger folio.

COMMENTARY: The staff paper is very similar to that of *Permettete, Preludio e fuga a 2 voci*, and *1° Tempo di sonata per pianoforte*.

005

TITLE: *Stati d'animo* I–III

DATES: One manuscript of *Stati d'animo* I has a date of "22/XII/1915;" first performed in May/June 1916 at the Accademia Nazionale di S. Cecilia.⁴

INSTRUMENTATION: Voice and piano.

Stati d'animo I

KEY: E \flat TIME SIGNATURE: 4/4 (12/8) TEMPO: [none given]

POEM: G. Verdusi (?)

SOURCES: 2 manuscript copies, I-Vgc. 6/7p., 32,3 x 23,8cm, 12-staff paper.

Stati d'animo II

KEY: G Minor TIME SIGNATURE: 4/4 TEMPO: Andante calmo

SOURCES: Manuscript copy, I-Vgc. 6p., 32,3 x 23,8cm, 12-staff paper.

Stati d'animo III

KEY: E \flat TIME SIGNATURE: 3/4 TEMPO: Andante tranquillo

SOURCES: 2 manuscript copies, I-Vgc. 6/8p., 32,3 x 23,8cm, 12-staff paper.

⁴ Potito Pedarra, "Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo: La vita, le opere," 655.

COMMENTARY: Potito Pedarra lists these songs as scored for voice and chamber orchestra, but the only manuscripts found at I-Vgc are for voice and piano.

006

TITLE: *Tre canzoni spagnole*

DATES: First performed in Rome, Accademia Nazionale di S. Cecilia, June 2, 1917, with soprano Maria Pia Mancia and Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo as the conductor.

DEDICATION: "Alla mia mamma"

INSTRUMENTATION: Voice and orchestra, voice and piano.

"La muerte del Payador"

KEY: F Minor TIME SIGNATURE: 3/4 TEMPO: Andante

POEM: from *Santos Vega*, by Rafael Obligado (1851–1920)

SOURCES: 2 manuscript copies, voice and orchestra, I-Vgc. 23/22p., 29 x 21,5cm, 12-staff paper. One of the copies has the title "Decimas de Pavon(?) / La muerte del Payador / (fragmento)." Scored for voice, flute, oboe, English horn, harp, and strings. Photocopy of the manuscript vocal part, texts in Spanish and Italian, I-Vg. 2p., A4, indication "Comm. Alfredo Sernicoli." Photocopy of manuscript voice and piano score, I-Vgc. 6p., A4, indication "Comm. Alfredo Sernicoli." Manuscript copy with separate vocal part, Milan, Potito Pedarra Archive. 8/2p., 32,5 x 22,5cm.⁵

PUBLISHED SCORE: Version for voice and piano, Milan, Ricordi, 117651, 4p., 1919.

"Momento"

KEY: C Major TIME SIGNATURE: C (4/4) TEMPO: Molto vivace

POEM: Joaquín Dicenta Alonso (1893–1967); first published in 1915.

SOURCES: 2 manuscript copies, voice and orchestra, I-Vgc. 25p., 32,3 x 23,7cm, 20-staff paper. Scored for voice, flute, oboe, English horn, clarinet, bassoon, French horn, harp, celeste, carillon, cymbals, tambourine, triangle, timpani, and strings. 2 manuscript copies, voice, cello, and piano, I-Vgc. 14p., 31,8 x 23,5, 12-staff paper [G.B.T. "Lyre" 1103]; 17p., 33 x 23,8cm, 12-staff paper [watermark "P.M.FABRIANO"]. 2 cello parts: 3p., 32 x 23,5cm, 10-staff paper [G.B.T. "Lyre" 1102 EXTRA].

PUBLISHED SCORE: Version for voice and piano, Milan, Ricordi, 117652, 8p., 1919.

"Duérmete mi alma," Ninna-nanna

KEY: F Minor TIME SIGNATURE: 3/4 TEMPO: Lento

POEM: Sephardic folksong.⁶

⁵ Ibid. Pedarra states that this manuscript belonged to "Comm. Alfredo Sernicoli, tenor." It is likely that this is the original of the photocopies at the Cini Foundation.

⁶ See Gonzalo Castrillo, *Estudio sobre el canto popular castellano* (Palencia: Imprenta de la Federación Católico-Agraria, 1925), 64–65.

SOURCES: Manuscript copy, I-Vgc. 34p., 29 x 21,5cm, 16-staff paper. Scored for voice, flute, oboe, English horn (bassoon, in pencil), celeste, harp, and strings.
PUBLISHED SCORE: Version for voice and piano, Milan, Ricordi, 117653, 7p., 1919.

DISCOGRAPHY: *Over the Fence: Songs of Elsa Respighi, Lori Laitman, and Modesta Bor*, Tanya Kruse Ruck, soprano, and Elena Abend, piano. Albany TROY1522, 2014.

007

TITLE: *Serenata di maschere: Poema sinfonico*.

KEY: C Major

TIME SIGNATURE: 4/4

TEMPO: Allegro Vivace

DATES: January 1918 (from manuscript copy). First performed in Rome, Accademia Nazionale di S. Cecilia, May 26, 1918, conducted by Alessandro Bustini.

DEDICATION: "Al mio Maestro"

INSTRUMENTATION: Symphony orchestra. Pedarra also mentions the existence of a transcription for piano-four hands.⁷

SOURCES: 2 manuscript copies, I-Vgc. 78p., 43 x 29cm, 22-staff paper. Scored for piccolo, two flutes, two oboes, English horn, two clarinets, two bassoons, four French horns, two trumpets, two harps, two celestes, carillon, xylophone, triangle, cymbals, timpani, and strings.

COMMENTARY: The manuscripts include the following program. "On a carnival night some masks, guided by a sentimental blue domino, sing a serenade. A little harlequin sings first, but his cold and sharp voice does not win over the confused voices of the masks that followed his noise. A pale purple domino begins another song, and their voice is so sad and enamored that, little by little, all joy vanishes, and a sweet commotion slowly settles on the masks' comic grimaces. The song ends: a waiting, a silence, and afterwards, little by little, they start again to scream, to sing, to dance, and poetry takes refuge in the stars. The group rekindles their mad rush and, in the confusing voices that are ever farther away, one hears still the lament of the dreaming domino, a grotesque sound, a sigh; and then, nothing."⁸

⁷ Pedarra, "Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo," 656.

⁸ "In una note di carnevale alcune maschere guidate da un sentimentale domino azzurro vanno a fare una serenata. Un piccolo arlecchino leva per primo il canto, ma la sua voce un po' fredda e montagna non riesce a vincere il confuse vociare delle maschere che seguitano il loro chiasso. Un pallido domino viola incomincia un altro canto, e la sua voce è così triste e innamorata che a poco a poco ogni allegria sparisce, e una dolce commozione si adagio sulla comica smorfia delle maschere. Il canto è finito: un'attesa, un silenzio, poi a poco a poco si ricomincia a gridare, a cantare, a danzare e la poesia va a rifugiarsi tra le stele. Il gruppo riprende la sua corsa pazzo e nel confuso vociare che sempre più si allontana, s'ode ancora il lamento del domino sognatore, un suono grottesco, un sospiro; nulla."

008

TITLE: *Fior di neve*

DATES: 1918

INSTRUMENTATION: musical fable in three acts, conceived for Vittorio Podrecca's Teatro dei Piccoli.

COMMENTARY: Both Pedarra and Bragaglia mention this piece, declaring it unfinished and unpublished, and the manuscript lost.⁹

009

TITLE: *Dai "Rubaiyat" di Omar Kayam*

DATES: 1918–1919

DEDICATION: "Alla Signora Ida Tilche Saxe"

INSTRUMENTATION: Voice and piano.

POEMS: from *Rubaiyat*, by Omar Khayyam (1048–1131)

PUBLISHED SCORE: Milan, Ricordi, 1919, 116639.

I.

KEY: E ♭ Minor TIME SIGNATURE: C (4/4) TEMPO: Allegro

SOURCES: Published score, I-Vgc. 2p.

II.

KEY: C Minor TIME SIGNATURE: C (4/4) TEMPO: Lento

SOURCES: Published score, I-Vgc. 2p.

III.

KEY: C Minor TIME SIGNATURE: C (4/4) TEMPO: Andante

SOURCES: Published score, I-Vgc. 2p.

IV.

KEY: E Minor TIME SIGNATURE: C (4/4) TEMPO: Vivace

SOURCES: Published score, I-Vgc. 2p.

COMMENTARY: There is no record of a manuscript copy, either at the Cini Foundation or by Potito Pedarra.

DISCOGRAPHY: *Over the Fence: Songs of Elsa Respighi, Lori Laitman, and Modesta Bor*, Tanya Kruse Ruck, soprano, and Elena Abend, piano. Albany TROY1522, 2014.

⁹ Pedarra, "Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo," 656. See also Leonardo Bragaglia, "*Ardendo vivo*": *Elsa Respighi – Tre vite in una; Quasi un romanzo* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1983), 69.

010

TITLE: *Berceuse bretonne*

DATES: 1919

DEDICATION: "A Nadine Tilche"

INSTRUMENTATION: Voice and piano.

POEM: by Théodore Botrel (1868–1925)

PUBLISHED SCORE: Milan, Ricordi, 1920, 116640.

KEY: C Minor TIME SIGNATURE: 3/4 TEMPO: Andante con moto

SOURCES: Published score, I-Vgc. 5p.

COMMENTARY: There is no record of a manuscript copy, either at the Cini Foundation or located by Potito Pedarra.

DISCOGRAPHY: *Over the Fence: Songs of Elsa Respighi, Lori Laitman, and Modesta Bor*, Tanya Kruse Ruck, soprano, and Elena Abend, piano. Albany TROY1522, 2014.

011

TITLE: *Je n'ai rien*

DATES: 1919

DEDICATION: "A Marthe Suarez"

INSTRUMENTATION: Voice and piano.

POEM: by Henri de Régnier (1864–1936)

PUBLISHED SCORE: Milan, Ricordi, 1920, 116641.

KEY: G Major TIME SIGNATURE: 3/4 TEMPO: Allegro vivace

SOURCES: Published score. 5p.

COMMENTARY: There is no record of a manuscript copy, either at the Cini Foundation or located by Potito Pedarra.

DISCOGRAPHY: *Over the Fence: Songs of Elsa Respighi, Lori Laitman, and Modesta Bor*, Tanya Kruse Ruck, soprano, and Elena Abend, piano. Albany TROY1522, 2014.

012

TITLE: *Trio*

DATES: 1919–1920

INSTRUMENTATION: Harp, flute, and piano.

COMMENTARY: Bragaglia mentions this piece, and is quoted by Pedarra. Both state that it was unfinished and unpublished, and the manuscript lost.¹⁰

013

TITLE: *Suite di danze*: 1. *Danza triste*, 2. *Danza sacra*, 3. *Danza orgiastica*.

DATES: 1919–1920

INSTRUMENTATION: Symphony orchestra.

COMMENTARY: Bragaglia quotes from a concert program from 1931 where these works by Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo were presented. Pedarra mentions Bragaglia, and states that it is

¹⁰ Bragaglia, "Ardendo vivo," 68. Quoted in Pedarra, "Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo," 656–657.

unpublished, a first performance is unknown, and the location of the manuscript is unknown.¹¹

014

TITLE: *Neve sotto la luna*

DATES: 1919–1920

INSTRUMENTATION: Voice and piano.

POEM: by Antonio Rubino (1880–1964)¹²

SOURCES: Manuscript copy, Milan, Potito Pedarra Archive. 4p., 35,5 x 27cm, 16-staff paper. Also sketches, mm. 1,3, 30 x 22cm, 18-staff paper.

COMMENTARY: The chronological placement of this song is by Pedarra.¹³

015

TITLE: *Anima canta*

DATES: 1921

INSTRUMENTATION: Voice and piano.

POEM: by Antonio Rubino (1880–1964)¹⁴

KEY: F Minor

SOURCES: Manuscript copy, I-Vgc. 4p. First draft manuscript, Milan, Potito Pedarra Archive. 1p., m. 1, 22 x 30cm.

COMMENTARY: This song is found, in I-Vgc, in a green binding for loose leaf sketches.

016

TITLE: *Lucrezia*, opera in one act by Ottorino Respighi. Completed by Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo.

DATES: 1936. First performance at Teatro alla Scala, Milan, on February 24, 1937. Singers: Ebe Stignani (La Voce), Maria Caniglia (Lucrezia), Maria Marcucci (Servia), Renata Villani (Venilia), Paolo Civil (Collatino), Ettore Parmeggiani (Bruto), Gaetano Viviani (Tarquinio), Leone Paci (Tito), Eraldo Coda (Arunte), Bruno Carmassi (Spurio Lucrezio), and Aristide Baracchi (Valerio). Conductor: Gino Marinuzzi.

INSTRUMENTATION: Symphony orchestra: piccolo, two flutes, two oboes, English horn, two clarinets, two bassoons, four French horns, three trumpets, two trombones, bass trombone, tuba, cymbals, bass drum, tam-tam, strings.

PARTS: La Voce (mezzo-soprano), Lucrezia (soprano), Venilia (soprano), Collatino (tenor), Tarquinio (baritone), Tito (baritone), Arunte (baritone), Spurio Lucrezio (bass), Valerio (bass).

LIBRETTO: by Claudio Guastalla (1880–1948), after Livy and Shakespeare.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² First published in *Poesia* 4, no. 9 (October 1908): 4. Later published in Antonio Rubino, *Versi e disegni di Antonio Rubino* (Milan: S.E.L.G.A, 1911), 77.

¹³ Pedarra, “Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo,” 657.

¹⁴ Rubino, *Versi e disegni*, 55.

SOURCES: Orchestra score, dated June 26, 1936, I-Mr. 120p., 40 x 30cm. Ricordi I.II.22.
Voice and piano score, 1936, I-Mr. 150p., 32 x 24cm. Ricordi U.II.44.
PUBLISHED SCORE: Orchestral score, Milan, Ricordi, 1936, 123646, 196p. Voice and piano score, Milan, Ricordi, 1936, 123648, 118p. Libretto, Milan, Ricordi, 1936, 123649, 39p.
COMMENTARY: For a detailed account of Olivieri's role in this completion, see Chapter 4.

017

TITLE: *Pelle d'asino*, Ballet.

DATES: 1936–1937.

KEY: E ♭ Major TIME SIGNATURE: 4/4 TEMPO: [varied]

LIBRETTO: after Charles Perrault (1628–1703), from the fairytale *Peau d'âne*.

INSTRUMENTATION: piccolo, two flutes, two oboes, English horn, two clarinets, two bassoons, four French horns, two trumpets, trombone, two celestes, two harps, carrillon, triangle, timpani, and strings.

SOURCES: Full score, I-Vgc. 95p., 47,5 x 35cm, 26-staff paper [G. Ricordi 26], finished "Roma 29 Febbraio 1937." Short score, I-Vgc. 24p., 34,7 x 26,5cm., 12-staff paper [Ditta ALBERTO DE SANTIS - Corso Umberto I, N. 133 - Roma 108 / 12 *], with indication "18 Novembre 1936" on the last page.

COMMENTARY: There is no indication of performance or publication. Bragaglia and Pedarra do not mention this ballet.

018

TITLE: *Antiche danze e arie per liuto*, choreographed actions in four scenes by Ottorino Respighi. Reworked by Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo.

DATES: 1937. First performance in Milan, Teatro alla Scala, on December 28, 1937.

Conducted by Franco Capuana. Prima ballerina: Nives Poli. Sets by Nicola Benois.

Choreography by Margherita Wallmann.

LIBRETTO: by Claudio Guastalla (1880–1948).

INSTRUMENTATION: as in the original.

CHARACTERS: La Villanella, Il Contadino, I Tre Vecchi Galanti, Il Duca, Il Colonnello, Il Magistrato, La Gente Paesana, Le Dame e I Cavalieri, Le Maschere, I Lacché, Due Moretti, I portantini, I Lampionai, Le Cameriste.

PUBLISHED SCORES: Orchestral score, Milan, Ricordi, 1920, 131191, 129p. Orchestra parts, Milan, Ricordi, 1920, 131192. Piano Reduction, Milan, Ricordi, 1937, 124185, 43p. Libretto, Milan, Ricordi, 1937, 124128, 17p.

019

TITLE: *Cantare campagnolo*

DATES: 1938–1939.

INSTRUMENTATION: Voice and piano.

POEM: by Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo

PUBLISHED SCORE: Milan, Ricordi, 1939, 124431, 8p.

KEY: E ♭ Major TIME SIGNATURE: 4/4 TEMPO: Allegretto

SOURCES: Two incomplete manuscripts, I-Vgc. 4/4p, 32 x 23,5cm, 12-staff paper [G. R. T. "Lyre" 1103].

COMMENTARY: Pedarra places this song after *Pianto de la Madonna* in his catalogue. The published scores of both *Cantare campagnolo* and *La mamma povera* have consecutive editorial numbers, suggesting they were published at the same time. The manuscripts for this song are found, in I-Vgc, in a green binding for loose leaf sketches.

DISCOGRAPHY: *Over the Fence: Songs of Elsa Respighi, Lori Laitman, and Modesta Bor*, Tanya Kruse Ruck, soprano, and Elena Abend, piano. Albany TROY1522, 2014.

020

TITLE: *La mamma povera*, Ninna-nanna.

DATES: 1938.

INSTRUMENTATION: Voice and piano.

POEM: by Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo

PUBLISHED SCORE: Milan, Ricordi, 1939, 124432, 4p.

KEY: F Minor TIME SIGNATURE: C (4/4) TEMPO: Andante lento

SOURCES: Published score.

COMMENTARY: There is no record of a manuscript copy, either at the Cini Foundation or located by Potito Pedarra.

DISCOGRAPHY: *Over the Fence: Songs of Elsa Respighi, Lori Laitman, and Modesta Bor*, Tanya Kruse Ruck, soprano, and Elena Abend, piano. Albany TROY1522, 2014.

021

TITLE: *Le astuzie femminili*, by Ottorino Respighi (after Domenico Cimarosa), melodramma giocoso in two acts and four scenes. Revision by Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo and Mario Rossi.

DATES: 1938–1939. First performed in Florence, Teatro della Pergola, on May 20, 1939.

Ballerina: Alicia Marckova. Singers: S Baccaloni (Giampaolo), P. Giri (Bellina), V. Bettoni (Romualdo), L. Fort (Filandro), E. Tegani (Ersilia), and A. Dubbini (Leonora). Conductor: Mario Rossi.

INSTRUMENTATION: two flutes, two oboes, two clarinets, two bassoons, two French horns, two trumpets, three trombones, percussion, timpani, harpsichord (or piano), and strings.

PARTS: Giampaolo (comic bass), Bellina (soprano), Romualdo (baritone), Filandro (tenor), Ersilia (soprano), and Leonora (mezzo-soprano).

SOURCES: Orchestral score, I-Mr. November 1919–January 1920; 1st part, 39 x 30cm, 105p.; 2nd part, 32 x 24cm, 96p. (pp. 29–38, 38 x 29cm); 3rd part, 39 x 30cm, 73p.; 4th part, 39 x 40cm, 110p. (pp. 1–28, 32 x 24cm); Ricordi I.IV.84. Voice and piano score, I-Vgc. Printed edition with autograph inserts by the revisers, 30 x 22cm.

PUBLISHED SCORES: Orchestral score, Milan, Ricordi [four volumes without editorial numbering], 1st part, 196p., 2nd part, 161p., 3rd part, 112p., 4th part, 91p. (Ballet, 52p.). Version for piano and orchestra, Milan, Ricordi, 1939, 124438, 264p. Orchestral score of the “Sinfonia,” Milan, Ricordi, 1941, 124982, 30p. Orchestral score of the “Ballet,” Milan, Ricordi, 1939, 34 x 24cm, 52p. Libretto, Milan, Ricordi, 1939, 124389, 43p.

022

TITLE: *Pianto de la Madonna*, Lauda drammatica.

DATES: 1938–1939. First performed in Torino, E.I.A.R, on June 19, 1939. With soprano Maria Caniglia and conductor Armando La Rosa Parodi.

POEM: by Jacopone da Todi (ca. 1230–1306)

INSTRUMENTATION: Two pianos, two harps, carrillon, celeste, percussion, and strings.

PARTS: La Madonna (soprano), Gesù (tenor); mixed choir in four parts; male choir; women's choir.

SOURCES: 2 manuscript scores, voice and piano, I-Vgc. 79p., 32,5 x 23,5cm, 12-staff paper [Ditta ALBERTO DE SANTIS - Corso Umberto I, N. 133 - Roma 108 / 12 *]. Incomplete short score, I-Vgc. With additions, crossings, taping and stapling of new staff paper; pp. 1–10 (end of p. 11 in the published score), pp. 15–48 (from the last three measures of p. 16 to first four measures of p. 42 in the published score); 32,5 x 23,5cm, 12-staff paper [Ditta ALBERTO DE SANTIS - Corso Umberto I, N. 133 - Roma 108 / 12 *], and the date "1938."

Full score, I-Vgc. 38p., 47 x 33,7cm, 26-staff paper. Several sketches, I-Vgc.

PUBLISHED SCORE: Version for voice and piano, Milan, Ricordi, 1939, 124487, 44p.

023

TITLE: *Invocazione!*, from *Imitazione di Cristo*, cap. XXII (Libro III, cap. XXIII, § V–X)

DATES: May 26–27, 1939, written at I Pini.

POEM: by Thomas à Kempis (1380–1471)

INSTRUMENTATION: Male voice (bass) and piano.

KEY: G Major TIME SIGNATURE: 4/4 TEMPO: [none given]

SOURCES: Four manuscript copies, I-Vgc. Manuscript without cover, 8p., 32,5 x 23,5cm, 12-staff paper [Ditta ALBERTO DE SANTIS - Corso Umberto I, N. 133 - Roma 108 / 12 *].

Cleaner copy of the previous manuscript, with some pencil alterations, 9p., 32 x 23,5cm, 12-staff paper (pre-bracketed for voice and piano) [Ditta ALBERTO DE SANTIS - Corso Umberto I, N. 133 - Roma 108 / c. p.]. Manuscript with gray/green cover, with similar pencil alterations, 12p., 34,5 x 24cm, 9-staff paper (pre-bracketed for voice and piano) [G. RICORDI & C. Piazza Venezia-12-13-14-Roma]. Version for high voice, "in C" (mm. 1–29 are a 4th up, mm. 30–44 are a minor 3rd up, mm. 45–57 are a 5th up, mm. 58–63 are a major 2nd up, mm. 63–75 are a 4th up; mm. 52–53 are expanded to 3 measures, mm. 63–68 are condensed into 5 measures, mm. 75–end are rewritten); 10p., 32 x 23,5cm [G.B.T. "Lyre" 1103].

COMMENTARY: There is no indication of performance or publication. Bragaglia and Pedarra do not mention this song.

024

TITLE: *La lavandaia di San Giovanni (dal Romancero Castellano)*, for women's choir.

POEM: by Giosuè Carducci (1835–1907). First published in *Rime nuove* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1887).

PARTS: Soprano solo, soprano, mezzo soprano, and contralto.

KEY: A ♭ Major TIME SIGNATURE: 4/4 TEMPO: Andante con moto

SOURCES: Incomplete manuscript, I-Vgc. 5p., 32,3 x 23,5, 12-staff paper [Ditta ALBERTO DE SANTIS - Corso Umberto I, N. 133 - Roma 108 / 12 **].

COMMENTARY: This incomplete manuscript has the same staff paper as other dated compositions: *Pelle d'asino*, *Invocazione!*, and *Pianto de la Madonna*. Bragaglia and Pedarra do not mention this composition.

025

TITLE: *Il dono di Alcesti*, opera in one act and three scenes.

DATES: 1940–1941. *Alcesti* was programmed but was never performed.

INSTRUMENTATION: Symphony orchestra: piccolo, two flutes, two oboes, English horn, two clarinets, bass clarinet, two bassoons, four French horns, three trumpets, three trombones, tuba, two harps, piano, cymbals, bass drum, three timpani, strings.

PARTS: Alcesti (dramatic soprano), Admeto (tenor), Cleandro (baritone), La cieca (contralto). In addition, two coryphees, the people, the adolescents, the choir and the dancers, and the two children of Alcesti and Admeto, a boy and a girl.

LIBRETTO: by Claudio Guastalla (1880–1948), after Euripides.

SOURCES: Full score manuscript, I-Vgc. 276p., 47 x 33,7cm, 24/26/28-staff paper, dated "Roma Giugno 1941." Voice and piano short score, I-Vgc. 213p., 31,8 x 23,5cm, 12-staff paper [G.B.T. "Lyre" 1103]. Incomplete voice and piano short score, I-Vgc. Pp. 61–160, 32 x 23,5cm, 12-staff paper [G.B.T. "Lyre" 1103]. Copy of libretto, I-Vgc. 29p., 31 x 21cm, one-sided; photocopy of same libretto in A4.

COMMENTARY: For a detailed discussion of this opera, see Chapter 4.

026

TITLE: *Tre canti corali del Poliziano*

DATES: 1942. First performed in Rome, at the Accademia Nazionale di S. Cecilia, on April 20, 1944. Conducted by Bonaventura Somma.

POEMS: by Angelo Ambrogini, nicknamed Poliziano (1454–1494)

"Vergine santa! Preghiera a 4 voci miste su versi del Poliziano"

KEY: C Major TIME SIGNATURE: 4/4 TEMPO: Andante lento

PARTS: Mixed choir (soprano, alto, tenor, and bass).

SOURCES: 2 manuscript scores, I-Vgc. 5p., 32 x 23,3cm, 24-staff paper [G.B.T. "Lyre" 1115], dated "Ottobre 1942 / Roma." Cleaner copy, 12p., 31,8 x 23,5cm, 12-staff paper [G.B.T. "Lyre" 1103]. Octavos, I-Vgc: 10 for soprani (3p.), with names in upper left, 7 for. Contralti (3p.), 9 for tenor (3p.), and 6 for bassi (3p.).

"La ballata delle rose (Poliziano)"

KEY: A Major TIME SIGNATURE: 4/4 TEMPO: Allegretto

PARTS: Soprano solo and women's choir (soprano and alto).

SOURCES: Manuscript score, I-Vgc. 9p., 31,8 x 23,5cm, 12-staff paper [G.B.T. "Lyre" 1103]. Octavos, I-Vgc: 4 for soprani I, 3 for soprani I and II, 5 for soprani II, 7 for contralti, all with names.

"Deh! Udite un poco amanti / Canzonetta a tre voci"

KEY: A \flat Major TIME SIGNATURE: 4/4 TEMPO: Vivace e scanzonato

PARTS: Male choir (tenor, baritone, and bass)

DEDICATION: "Al Conte Guido Chigi Saracini"

SOURCES: 4 manuscript scores, I-Vgc. 8p., 32,5 x 23,5cm, 12-staff paper [Ditta BORSARI SARTI / Via Farini, 7 - Bologna], dated "Roma Sett.1942." 8p., 32,5 x 23,5cm, 12-staff paper [Ditta BORSARI SARTI / Via Farini, 7 - Bologna], dated "3 Ottobre 1942." 8p., 32 x 23,3cm, 12-staff paper [G.B.T. "Lyre" 1103], dated "Nov. 1942." Clean copy, I-Vgc. 11p., 32 x 23,5, 12-staff paper [12], with dedication "Al Conte Guido Chigi Saracini." Octavos, I-Vgc: 8 for tenor I and II, 4 for bass, and 3 for baritone, all with names.

COMMENTARY: Olivieri mentions only "Ballata delle rose" in her memoir. She links it with her earlier work *Il pianto della Madonna*, and dates the first performance to 1939. Bragaglia references several concert reviews from 1944 praising both "Ballata delle rose" and "Vergine santa." Pedarra, with no access to the manuscripts, notes the inconsistency, but remains faithful to Olivieri's date. The manuscripts are unequivocally dated from 1942.¹⁵

026a

TITLE: *Burlesca*, for male choir

POEM: by Angelo Ambrogini, nicknamed Poliziano (1454–1494)

KEY: A ♭ Major TIME SIGNATURE: 4/4

SOURCES: Manuscript fragment, I-Vgc. 1p., 32,5 x 23,5cm, 12-staff paper [G.B.T. "Lyre" 1103].

COMMENTARY: The fact that it is a choral composition with a text by Poliziano, along with the use of similar paper, account for the placing of this fragment alongside the *Tre canti corali del Poliziano*. Bragaglia and Pedarra do not mention this composition.

027

TITLE: *Intermezzo romantico*

DATES: 1942

INSTRUMENTATION: Harp, flute, viola, and orchestra.

COMMENTARY: Pedarra quotes a diary entry by Olivieri, dated July 10, 1942, where she mentions this work. Pedarra also states that the piece is unpublished, a first performance is unknown, and the location of the manuscript is unknown.

028

TITLE: *Le scale*

DATES: 1943

INSTRUMENTATION: Piano.

"Le Scale" 1

KEY: C Major TIME SIGNATURE: [none given]

TEMPO: Andante-molto mosso, Spigliato

¹⁵ See Elsa Respighi, *Cinquant'anni*, 233. See also Bragaglia, "Ardendo vivo," 105, and Pedarra, "Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo," 659–660.

SOURCES: Manuscript, I-Vgc. 6p., 32 x 23,5cm, 12-staff paper [G. R. T. "Lyre" 1103].

"Le Scale" 2

KEY: F Major TIME SIGNATURE: [none given] TEMPO: Allegretto, Grazioso

SOURCES: Manuscript, I-Vgc. 3p., 32 x 23,5cm, 12-staff paper [G. R. T. "Lyre" 1103].

COMMENTARY: These are exercises harmonizing modulating scales. They may be preparatory work for *Samurai*. There is also, at I-Vgc, an eight-page sketch titled "Le scale" dated "Roma 1943." It is found in a green binding with other loose leaf sketches.

029

TITLE: *Samurai*, opera in three acts and four scenes.

DATES: 1943–1945

INSTRUMENTATION: Symphony orchestra: piccolo, two flutes, two oboes, English horn, two clarinets, bass clarinet, two bassoons, contrabassoon, four French horns, three trumpets, three trombones, tuba, timpani, Japanese gongs, two harps, vibraphone, carillon, bass drum, side drum, celeste, piano, and strings.

PARTS: Morizuki (bass), Shyuszi, a boy (silent), Matsuo (baritone) Azuma (soprano), Kotaro, a boy (silent) Utamaro (dramatic tenor), Tonami (soprano) Ghemba (bass), Oisci Kuzanscko (tenor). Also seven students/boys, of which two are mimes and five are choristers; four men-at-arms (two tenors, a bass, and two baritones); a regular choir, complete, where the women are the lamenting mothers and the women of the village, and the men are the ronin, the monks, and the men of the village.

LIBRETTO: by Claudio Guastalla (1880–1948), after *Terakoya*, by Takeda Izumo II (1691–1756).

SOURCES: Three typewritten librettos by Claudio Guastalla, I-Vgc. Two are 58p., 28 x 22cm, one-sided, the third one is 47p., 30,8 x 20,cm, one-sided; there is also a photocopy of each in A4 size. Two short scores for each act, I-Vgc. One with a cover and one without, reduced to 4 instrumental staves, or voices and piano, mostly the same paper [G.B.T. "Lyre" 1103], 31 x 23,5cm Act 1, Scene 1, 38p. and 36p. Act 1, Scene 2, pp. 39–104 and 64p. One of the copies of Act 1 has the indication "Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo (1943)." Act 2, pp. 105–200 and 87p. One of the copies of Act 2 has the indication "Roma Gennaio 1944." It also uses a different paper for 64p. [IDEAL "Sunshine" 12] 35 x 25cm. Act 3, 54p. [G.B.T.] and 50p. [IDEAL]. This last copy has the indication "Mazatlan de Sinaloa / 30 Aprile 1946." It appears that the one without the cover is the earlier one, because of the dates, and the covered copy appears to be a later copy. Two sets of full scores, I-Vgc, 46,5 x 32,cm and 47 x 33,2cm [A-28, A-26, A-24], bound, one volume for each act. The earlier set has the indications of "Roma 7 giugno 1944" at the end of Act 1, "Roma 22 gennaio 1945" at the end of Act 2, and "Roma 30 Novembre 1945 / EOS." Act 1, 157p. (plus a mini-overture, 6p.), Act 2, 134p., and Act 3, 105p.

COMMENTARY: For a detailed discussion of this opera, see Chapter 4.

030

TITLE: *Caterina da Siena*, cantata for soprano, mixed choir, and orchestra. "Motto: Ardendo vivo."

DATES: 1943–1946. First performed in Milan, Teatro Angelicum, May 1949.

INSTRUMENTATION: Chamber orchestration: organ, piano, harp, and strings. Symphony orchestra: piccolo, two flutes, two oboes, English horn, two clarinets, bass clarinet, two bassoons, contrabassoon, four French horns, piano, and strings.

PARTS: Caterina (soprano), I Romani, I Venturieri, I Partigiani, Il Popolo, I Villani, Le Donne, I Giovani Senesi, I Vecchi Senesi, Le Giovani Gaie, I Superstiti, Gli Angeli, Le Donne de Fontebranda, Il Coro Mistico, Le Voci Morenti, La Curia.

LIBRETTO: by Claudio Guastalla (1880–1948)

SOURCES: Two copies of typewritten libretto, I-Vgc. 8/9p., 30,5 x 21cm/29,5 x 21cm, one-sided. Incomplete short score, I-Vgc, pp. 1–76 (until the second measure of p. 83 of the complete short score), 31 x 23,5cm [G.B.T. "Lyre" 1103]. Fragment of working manuscript short score, I-Vgc, corresponding to p. 74, m. 3 to p. 80, m. 3 of the complete short score. Short score with voices and piano, I-Vgc. 112p., 31 x 23,5cm [G.B.T. "Lyre" 1103]. Chamber orchestration, I-Vgc. 22p., 48.3 x 33.6cm, 13-staff paper.. Full score, I-Vgc. 124p., 24/26/28-staff paper, 46,7 x 33,5cm [A-24, A-26, A-28]. Parts for chamber orchestration, I-Vgc. COMMENTARY: In the full score, the piano part is signaled to be played "ad libitum." The dates are given by Pedarra.¹⁶

031

TITLE: *Due canzoni italiane per chitarra*

DATES: 1948

DEDICATION: "A Andrés Segovia"

INSTRUMENTATION: Guitar

KEY: G Major / E Major TIME SIGNATURE: 3/4 TEMPO: Molto lento – Allegretto

SOURCES: Manuscript, E-LINas. 6p., 31 x 23,5cm, 12-staff paper [G.B.T. "Lyre" 1103].

PUBLISHED SCORE: Ancona, Bèrben, 2006, E. 5296 B, 4p. Part of the Andrés Segovia Archive collection.

COMMENTARY: The published score contains a facsimile of the manuscript and a ten-page biographical note on Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo by Potito Pedarra, in English.

032

TITLE: *Concerto dorico*, for cello and orchestra. Transcription by Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo of Ottorino Respighi's *Quarteto Dorico*, for string quartet.

DATES: 1948–1949

INSTRUMENTATION: Solo cello and symphony orchestra: piccolo, two flutes, two oboes, English horn, two clarinets, bass clarinet, two bassoons, four French horns, three trumpets, harp, triangle, cymbals, etc., celeste, carillon, timpani, and strings.

SOURCES: Manuscript version for cello and piano, I-Vgc. 71p., 32 x 22cm, dated "21 Maggio 1948." Two manuscripts, orchestral score, I-Vgc. 90p., 46 x 35cm, dated "Roma, Agosto

¹⁶ Pedarra, "Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo," 662.

1949." Orchestra parts, I-Vgc. 61p., 32 x 22cm [21 P - RANDOLPH M. R. / INDUSTRIA ARGENTINA].

COMMENTARY: Pedarra states that a first performance date is unknown, and that this transcription was never published.¹⁷

033

TITLE: *La bella dormiente nel bosco*, by Ottorino Respighi. Musical fable in three acts by Gian Bistolfi, after Perrault. Revision by Elsa Olivieri Sangiacomo and Gian Luca Tocchi.

DATES: 1966–1967. First performance in Turin, Teatro Rossini (Auditorio RAI), June 13, 1967. Singers: E. Ravaglia (soprano), A. Cannarile Berdini (soprano), E. Buoso (tenor), L. Puglisi (baritone), W. D'Eusebio (reciting voice), R. Laghezza (mezzo soprano), F. Cadoni (mezzo soprano), M. Benetti (soprano), G. Arista (mezzo soprano), and F. Velentini (baritone). Conductor: Gian Luca Tocchi.

INSTRUMENTATION: piccolo, flute, oboe, clarinet, two bassoons, tenor saxophone, baritone saxophone, two French horns, three trumpets, three trombones, bass drum, cymbals, tambourine, triangle, rattle, jazz drums, electric guitar, celeste, harpsichord, piano, chimes, bells, and strings.

PARTS: La Regina (mezzo soprano), La Principessa (soprano), Il Principe Aprile (tenor), L'Usignolo (soprano), La Fatta azzurra (soprano), La Fata verde (reciting voice), La Vecchia sdentata (mezzo soprano), Il Gatto (mezzo soprano), Il Fuso (soprano), Il Re (baritone), L'Ambasciatore (baritone), La Duchessa (mezzo soprano), Mister Dollar (reciting voice), Un Boscaiolo (baritone), Un Araldo (non-spoken), Il Cuculo (mezzo soprano), Il Gran Fusiere (non-spoken). Choir: Rane, Fate buone, Medici, Boscaioli, Stelle, Rose, Arcolai, Ragni, Eco. SOURCES: Orchestra score (autograph by Ottorino Respighi, with the variants by Gian Luca Tocchi), I-Vgc. Act 1, 142p., 32 x 22cm, dated "Abetone, 31 Agosto 1933." Act 2, 126p., 32 x 22cm, dated "Roma, 14 November 1933." Act 3, 134p., 32 x 22cm, dated "Roma ai 'Pini,' 26 Novembre 1933."

PUBLISHED SCORE: Orchestral score, Milan, Ricordi, 1958–1966, 131015, 281p. Version for voice and piano, Milan, Ricordi, 1958–1966, 131017, 181p.

¹⁷ Ibid.

APPENDIX B

Timeline

Personal Encounters

1912–1914, lessons with Giovanni Sgambati [1977: 22–23]¹

1917–1918, Elsa accompanied Beniamino Gigli in his voice lessons with Enrico Rosati, and also Toto Cotogni's class [1977: 61]

1919, January 12, Elsa is introduced to Puccini by Ottorino [1977: 65–66]

1919, August, meeting of Ottorino with Sergei Diaghilev to plan *Astuzie femminili* after Cimarosa; Ottorino and Diaghilev had already collaborated in *La Boutique fantasque* after music by Rossini [1977: 72]

1919, Capri, frequent visits by Swedish physician and psychiatrist Axel Munthe and by French writer Baron Jacques d'Adelswärd-Fersen [1977: 74]

1920–1921, encounter with Arthur Nikisch [1977: 79]

1921, encounter with Fritz Reiner (husband of Berta Gester, friend of Ottorino) [1977: 80]

1921, April, Prague, beginning of friendship with Baron Antonio Chiaramonte Bordonaro, at that time Minister of Italy in Czechoslovakia [1954: 151]²

1921, May, at a gathering in Vienna to honor Ottorino, he and Elsa make the acquaintance of Alma Mahler [1954: 152; 1977: 83]

1921, May, at the house of Franz Schalk, director of the Vienna Staatsoper, Ottorino and Elsa meet Richard Strauss [1954: 152; 1977: 83–84]

1922, January–February, while in Prague, Elsa and Ottorino make the acquaintance of Josef Suk [1954: 156; 1977: 92]

1923, March 28, Milan, concert of Respighi's music with Elsa, Ottorino, and Mieczysław Horszowski; acquaintance with Benito Mussolini [1954: 162; 1977: 98–99]

[1923–1924], at the home of Marquis Piero Miscaliti, acquaintance with Adolphe Appia and with Maurice Maeterlinck [1977: 103]

1925, February 21, acquaintance with Count Guido Chigi Saracini, of Micat in Vertice and Accademia Chigiana [1954: 181]

1925, May 1–19, Elsa and Ottorino take an automobile trip from Genoa to Paris, through the Côte d'Azur, Barcelona, Biarritz, San Sebastian, Bordeaux, and the Loire region, with Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge. In Paris they meet Cuban pianist and composer Joaquín Nin, an old Respighi acquaintance from Bologna, Serge Koussevitzky, and Manuel de Falla. The Respighis also met Ernest Urchs (spelled "Hurks" in 1954), the head of the concert and

¹ 1977 = Elsa Respighi, *Cinquant'anni di vita nella musica: 1905–1955* (Rome: Trevi, 1977).

² 1954 = Elsa Respighi, *Ottorino Respighi* (Milan: Ricordi, 1954).

artists department at Steinway & Sons,³ who proposes an American tour to Respighi in 1925–1926 [1954: 181–183]

1925, October 19, Elsa and Ottorino move to a mezzanine apartment at the Palazzo Borghese [1954: 187; 1977: 114–115].

1925, December [22,] reception by the Steinway family in honor of the Respighis: in attendance were the singers Lucrezia Bori, Rosa Ponselle, Elisabeth Rethberg, Giuseppe de Luca, Giovanni Martinelli, the violinist Jascha Heifetz, the cellist Gregor Piatigorsky, and the pianist Arthur Rubinstein; also Clarence Mackay, president of the New York Philharmonic, Otto Kahn, president of the Metropolitan Opera, Giulio Gatti Casazza, general manager of the Metropolitan, and some Vanderbilts [1977: 119]

1926, February 5–6, Elsa and Ottorino are hosted by Fritz Reiner and Berta Gester in Cincinnati [1954: 192]

1926, March 2–15, Amsterdam, in connection with the Respighi Festival in the Netherlands, Ottorino and Elsa meet Stravinsky [1954: 193; 1977: 124]

1927, mid-September, Vienna, premiere of *Trittico botticelliano*, commissioned by Mrs. Coolidge; meeting with Arnold Schoenberg [1954: 199; 1977: 132]

1928, November 13, Paris, luncheon hosted by the Minister of Fine Arts, where Elsa and Ottorino met André Messager, Paul Dukas, Gabriel Pierné, René Baton, and Albert Roussel [1954: 207; 1977: 137]

1928, Cherbourg, November 14, Elsa and Ottorino embark on the "Olympic" for New York; arrived November 21 [NY ports registry; 1954: 208; 1977: 137–138]; they leave on February 6, 1929, on the "Leviathan" for Barcelona [1954: 214]

1929, July–September, Buenos Aires, Ottorino and Elsa meet Lili Pons and Jascha Heifetz, who were also staying at the Plaza Hotel in Buenos Aires. Heifetz was studying Respighi's Sonata in B Minor [1977: 148–149]

1930, concert season in Rome, acquaintance with twelve-year-old Yehudi Menuhin, with Paul Hindemith, Arthur Honegger and Francis Poulenc [1977: 153–154]

1931, September, Pinerolo, encounters with the painter Felice Casorati (1883–1963) [1954: 248; 1977: 161]

1932, January 30, Gardone, encounter with Gabriele d'Annunzio. Evening with the poet, during which Elsa sang some of his verses set to music by Ottorino, with Luisa Baccara at the piano [1954: 254–256; 1977: 163]

1933, October, Finland, Elsa and Ottorino meet Sibelius at his home [1954: 276–277; 1977: 182–183]

1933, November, Berlin, as guests at the house of Francesco Mendelssohn, Ottorino and Elsa meet the Busch Quartet and Rudolf Serkin; they also meet Albert Einstein, and together they enjoy an evening of music-making [1954: 277–278; 1977: 183–184]

1935, April, Budapest, on occasion of the Hungarian premiere of *La fiamma*, encounter with Zoltán Kodály [1954: 314]

1936, April 18, Rome, "I Pini," Ottorino Respighi dies.

³ Alfred Dolge, *Pianos and their Makers, Vol. II, Development of the piano industry in America since the centennial exhibition at Philadelphia, 1876* (Covina: Covina Publishing, 1913), 190–191.

1937, June (?), Vienna, on occasion of the Austrian premiere of *La fiamma*, dinner in Elsa's honor hosted by Alma Mahler and Franz Werfel [1977: 215]
 1938, May, Florence, lunch with Richard Strauss and his wife Pauline at Olga Loeser[-Lebert]'s villa [1977: 222]
 1941, May/June (?), Budapest, meeting with Regent Miklós Horthy, Kodály, Ernő Dohnányi, and Béla Bartók, among others [1977: 236]
 1946, February, Washington, D.C., Elsa donates the manuscript of *Le fontane di Roma* and Respighi's mask to the Library of Congress [1977: 255]
 1946, June, Los Angeles, vacation hosted by the Massimo Anfitheatrof family; acquaintance with Walt Disney, Italo Montemezzi, Leopold Stokowsky, and a reunion with Alma Mahler [1977: 256–257]
 1947, last months, Rome, acquaintance with Benjamin Britten and Sergei Prokofiev [1977: 260–261]
 1948, June 30, Guastalla dies. [1977: 264]
 1950, May 5, Rome, Elsa hears a performance by Victoria de los Angeles and spontaneously invites the singer to her place for dinner and a soirée [1977: 273]
 1951, March, Brussels, while at a concert, at intermission Elsa is invited to attend the rest of the performance in the box of Queen Elizabeth of Belgium, together with Koussevitsky and Honegger; afterwards, the Queen invited Elsa to her castle at Aachen [1977: 279–280]

Performances

1917, June 2, Rome, Accademia di S. Cecilia, first performance of *Tre canzoni spagnole*, for soprano and orchestra, with Maria Pia Mancina, soprano, and Elsa as conductor [Gli anniversary: 655]
 1919, Ricordi in Milan publishes *Tre canzoni spagnole* for voice and piano [Gli anniversary: 655]
 1921, January 21 to February 6, first tour of Elsa as a singer, with Ottorino playing the piano and Mario Corti the violin, in “ten cities” Italy, begun in Forlì. Program: Sonata for violin and piano (Tartini-Respighi), Sonata in B Minor for violin and piano (Respighi), airs from the 1600s (transcribed by Respighi), songs by Respighi and by Olivieri Sangiacomo. [1954: 150]
 1921, April, chamber concerts in Prague and Brno with Elsa and Ottorino [1954: 151]
 1921, April 19, Elsa sings *Il tramonto* with the Prague Philharmonic, conducted by Ottorino [1954: 151; 1977: 83]
 1921, April 29, Elsa sings the premiere of Ottorino's *La sensitiva* (words by Shelley) in Prague, conducted by Talich [1954: 151; 1977: 83]
 1921, [May], Elsa and Ottorino perform a concert at the “Philharmonic Hall” [one of the rooms of the Musikverein?] [1954: 151; 1977: 83]
 [1921, May, “Auntie's diary” states that the tour also included Hungary in 1977: 84]
 1921, May 28, letter of Ottorino to Miss Magnetti: “Elsa si è messa molto bene come canto e come compositrice.” At that time Ricordi published more of Elsa's songs: *Je n'ai rien*, *Berceuse bretonne*, and *I Rubayat*, that she composed “a few months before.” [1954: 153]
 1922, January 1–10, concerts by Elsa and Ottorino in Naples and Sicily [1954: 155; 1977: 89]

1922, January–February, concert tour of Elsa and Ottorino in Czechoslovakia: Prague, Pilsen, Brno, Bratislava, and Chaslow [1954: 155; 1977: 89]

1922, November 22, concert in Perugia with Elsa and Ottorino [1954: 161]

1923, March 28, Milan, concert of Respighi's music with Elsa, Ottorino, and Mieczyslaw Horszowsky. Acquaintance with Benito Mussolini [1954: 162; 1977: 98–99]

1925, February 21, Siena, concert by Elsa and Ottorino at the salon of Chigi Saracini [Included in Micat in Vertice?]. Program included: Respighi arrangements of airs from the 1600s, two sets of Respighi songs, and some Italian and Spanish folk songs. [1954: 181; 1977: 109]

1925, November 2–12, Budapest, Elsa sings Respighi songs in a chamber music concert of music by Respighi [1977: 116]

1926, mid-February, Elsa sings *Deità Silvane* at a concert for the Composers' Guild in New York, conducted by Ottorino. In attendance were Toscanini, Mengelberg, Wanda Landowska, Heifetz, "and other celebrated musicians" [1954: 192; 1977: 123]

1926, March 2–15, Respighi Festival in the Netherlands (Amsterdam, The Hague, Arnhem, Rotterdam), Ottorino played *Concerto in modo misolidio* and conducted *I Pini di Roma*. Elsa sang with Ottorino at the piano [1954: 192; 1977: 123–124]

1926, around November 11, Berlin, Ottorino and Elsa become friends with Vladimir Horowitz, and recommend to Molinari for the Augusteo; Horowitz would play in Rome the following year [1954: 195–196; 1977: 126–127]

1926, November, "some concerts" by Elsa and Ottorino in Germany and Italy, the last one in Turin [1954: 197]

1927, January 22–March, Elsa and Ottorino on US chamber music tour (New York, Washington, Chicago, and others) [1954: 197–198; 1977: 128–130]

1927, May 12–July 10, Elsa and Ottorino do a tour of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro (with orchestra, July 2 and 8) and São Paulo (May 28 and seven others). In addition to their regular repertoire, Elsa and Ottorino performed Brazilian music, by Braga, Oswald, Fernandez, Villa-Lobos [1954: 198; 1977: 132]

1927, November 18, Hamburg, premiere of *La campana sommersa*. Mussonili sent a telegram congratulating Respighi: "Mi felicito sinceramente per grandioso successo riportato dalla *Campana sommersa*. La nuova e bella vittoria onora il genio musicale d'Italia che rinnova con lei sue trionfali affermazioni." [1954: 200]

1928, May 10–July 8, Elsa and Ottorino do a second tour of Brazil (Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo), premiere in Rio of *Impressioni brasiliane* under the direction of Ottorino [1954: 204–205; 1977: 135]

1928–1929, ten concerts (chamber music and orchestra) in the US, organized by the Pro-Musica Society: Detroit (December 2), Chicago (December 4), St. Paul (December 7), Denver (December 12), Seattle (December 15), San Francisco (December 18), Los Angeles (January 2, after a two-week rest in L.A.), San Francisco (January 7 and 13), Cincinnati (February 1 and 2, Ottorino conducting his works—*Trittico*, *Fontane*, and numbers two and three of *Vetrata di Chiesa*; Elsa states Gieseeking played *Toccata*, the concert program at stokowski.org states he played Beethoven Concerto No. 5). [1954: 209, 212–215; 1977: 138–140]

1929, February 16, Barcelona, Spain, chamber music concert with "Quartetto veneziano" [1954: 215] or "Quartetto del Vittoriale" [1977: 144; for the name of the quartet and

D'Annunzio's patronage, see also 1977: 162]. Elsa sang *Il Tramonto*. Ottorino conducted two other orchestra concerts on March 3 and 8 [1954: 215–216]

1929, September, chamber music concerts in Buenos Aires and other cities in Argentina; Elsa sang *Il Tramonto* among other works [1954: 224; 1977: 147–148]

1930, November 22, Siena, "Micat in vertice" at Accademia Chigiana, premiere of *Lauda per la Natività del Signore*, with Ottorino conducting and Elsa singing the role of the Madonna; *Lauda* was also performed on December 26 at Santa Cecilia and December 29 in Florence [1954: 236–238; 1977: 155]

1932, January 29, Milan, Conservatory, concert by Elsa and Ottorino [1954: 254]

1933, October, several chamber music concerts in Finland with Ottorino and Elsa [1954: 276–277; 1977: 182–183]

1934, from the end of July to August 28, chamber music concerts with Ottorino and Elsa [1954: 301, 306]

1936, June 7, Berlin, German premiere of Ottorino's *La fiamma*, in German; Elsa was involved in the rehearsal process, collaborating with her expertise on Ottorino's music and staging; Karl Böhm conducted; at the premiere, she attended the performance in the box of Joseph Goebbels [1954: 331–332; 1977: 209–210]

1937, February 24, Milan, La Scala, premiere of Ottorino's *Lucrezia* as completed by Elsa; Maria Caniglia sang the title role, Gino Marinuzzi conducted [1954: 332; 1977: 210–211; *Gli anniversari*: 658]

1937, March, Bologna, repeat of Ottorino's *Lucrezia*, accompanied by *Maria Egiziaca* and the ballet *Gli uccelli* [1977: 213]

1937, May 4, Florence, Maggio Fiorentino, repeat of Ottorino's *Lucrezia*, accompanied by *Maria Egiziaca* and the ballet *Gli uccelli*, with the same cast of La Scala; directed by Marinuzzi, produced by Margarethe Wallmann; also repeated in Rome [1977: 213]

1939, May 20, Florence, Teatro della Pergola, premiere of Elsa's revision of Cimarosa-Respighi's *Le astute femminili*, conducted by Mario Rossi [*Gli anniversari*: 659; 1977: 223–224]

1939, [no month], Rome, Adriano, premiere of Elsa's *La ballata delle rose*, conducted by Bonaventura Somma [1977: 233; *Gli anniversari*: 659–660]

1939, June 19, Turin, E. I. A. R., premiere of Elsa's *Pianto della Madonna*, with soprano Maria Caniglia and conducted by Armando Rosa Parodi [*Gli anniversari*, 660; 1977: 233]

1941, January–February, Trieste, Teatro Verdi, Elsa stages Ottorino's *La Fiamma* [1977: 233–234]

1941, May/June (?) 22, Budapest, Opera Theater, Hungarian premiere of Ottorino's *Lucrezia*, conducted by Failoni, directed by Olah [1977: 236]

1948, December, Milan, Bach-Respighi's *Passacaglia*, choreographed by Margarethe Wallmann, staged by Elsa, from a scenario by Elsa [1977: 266]

1949, April, tour of Emilia and Romagna, Ottorino's *Maria Egiziaca* and Cattozzo's *Misteri gaudiosi*, directed by Elsa [1977: 267]

1949, May, Milan, Teatro Angelicum, premiere of Elsa's *Preghiera di Santa Caterina*, on a text by Guastalla, for voice, orchestra, and small chorus; attended by Giovanni Papini and Francesco Messina among others [1977: 267]

1950, October, Switzerland, Elsa delivers a series of lectures: "Respighi's Songs and Chamber Music," "Respighi in Symphonic Music," and "Respighi and the Gregorian Chant."

She adds there would be another, to which she could not supply words: "The Privileged Destiny of a Woman Composer" [1977: 276–277]

1967, June, 13, Turin, Teatro Rossini (Auditorio RAI), performance of Ottorino's *La bella dormiente nel bosco*, in a revision by Elsa Respighi and Gian Luca Tocchi [*Gli anniversari*: 663]

Influential concerts attended

1905, first concert of Arturo Toscanini in the hall of Santa Cecilia Academy [1977: 16]

1905, concert with Pablo Casals [1977: 16]

1907, first concert of Gustav Mahler in Rome [1977: 17]

1907, concert with Richard Strauss conducting in Rome [1977: 17–18]

after 1909, Rome, Augusteo, Michael Balling conducts Beethoven Symphonies Nos. 1–8 [1977: 24]

1910, last concert of Mahler in Rome [1977: 25]

1911, Rome, Augusteo, Hungarian festival, conducted by Jenő Hubay, Ernő Dohnányi, and Ferenc von Vecsey [1977: 28]

1911, Rome, Augusteo, concert conducted by Hans Pfitzner [1977: 28]

1911, Rome, Augusteo, first Rome concert of Bruno Walter [1977: 28–29]

1911, Rome, Augusteo, concert conducted by Siegfried Wagner [1977: 29]

from 1911, subscription to orchestra seats at Costanzi Theater: operas by Puccini, Giordano, Cilea, "the whole Wagnerian theater," Charpentier, and Rimsky-Korsakov. [1977: 30]

1912, March 17, Rome, Augusteo, first Respighi on a program at the Augusteo, a duet from Ottorino's *Semirama* [1977: 31]

1912–1913 Puccini's *La fanciulla del West*, Weber's *Oberon*, Montemezzi's *Amore dei tre re*, Verdi's *Nabucco*, Mascagni's *Parisina*, Italian premiere and debacle of Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande* in Italian [1977: 32–33]

1913, Milan, La Scala, Strauss's *Der Rosenkavalier* conducted by Tulio Serafin, with Lucrezia Bori as Octavian [1977: 38]

1913, Busseto, Verdi's *La traviata* conducted by Toscanini, with Lucrezia Bori [1977: 38]

1914, [February 22]⁴ Debussy conducts at the Augusteo [1977: 33–35]

1914–1916, Rome, Augusteo, Strauss's *Ein Heldenleben*, conducted by Molinari, *Tod und Verklärung*, conducted by Arbós, *Till Eugenspiegel*, and *Don Juan*, conducted by Toscanini; also Stravinsky's *Petrushka*, Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloé*, and Debussy's *Le Martyre de Saint-Sébastien* [1977: 42]

1915, January 24, Rome, Augusteo, Molinari conducts the premiere of Respighi's "Sinfonia drammatica" [1977: 43]

1915, Rome, Augusteo, Riccardo Zandonai's first concert in Rome [1977: 43]

⁴ *Concerto orchestrale diretto da Claude Debussy e da Bernardino Molinari : Augusteo, domenica 22 febbraio 1914* (Rome: Manuzio, 1914). Fondo Uffici 1 op., I-Rce. (Library Sigla (RISM): I-Rce - Accademia Nazionale di S. Cecilia, Biblioteca, Roma)

1915, Rome, Augusteo, Thomas Beecham's first concert in Rome [1977: 43]
 1915–1916, Rome, Ferruccio Busoni returns to Rome and plays several recitals [1977: 43–44]
 1917, March 11, Rome, Augusteo, premiere of Ottorino's *Le Fontane de Roma*, conducted by Antonio Guarnieri, to negative reviews; a later performance in 1918 by Toscanini in Milan was a great success [1977: 54]
 1918, February 3, Rome, Costanzi, first time for Elsa attending Puccini's *La Bohème* [1977: 56]
 1919, March 16 and 21, Rome, recitals by American violinist Albert Spalding [1977: 68]
 1920, Rome, Santa Cecilia, concerts by and interactions with Vladimir de Pachman [1977: 75–76]
 1920, February, Rome, recital by Wilhelm Backhaus [1977: 76]
 1920, April, Rome, Debussy's *Iberia*, conducted by Toscanini [1977: 77]
 1920, May, Rome two concerts by the New York Symphony Orchestra conducted by Walter Damrosch [1977: 77]
 1920–1921, Rome, concerts conducted by Arthur Nikisch, Wilhelm Mengelberg, Sergei Koussevitsky, and others [1977: 79–80]
 1921, January 2, Rome, Joseph Szigeti plays Ottorino's transcription of Vitali's *Ciacconna* [1977: 80–81]
 1921, January, Rome, Albert Coates conducts Scriabin's *Poème de l'extase*; Elsa and Ottorino missed this concert because of their tour [1977: 81]
 1921, [February–March], Rome, Ballets Russes present Ottorino's *La boutique fantasque*, Stravinsky's *Pulcinella*, Manuel de Falla's *El sombrero de tres picos*, and Schumann's *Carnaval* [1977: 81]
 1921, [February–March], Rome, Strauss's *Salome* with Geneviève Vix and Armand Crabbé [1977: 81]
 1921, March 20, Rome, Teatro Contanzi, Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov* with Feodor Chaliapin [1977: 81]
 1921, [February–March], Rome, recital by Busoni [1977: 81]
 1921, [February–March], Rome, concert conducted by Fürtwangler [1977: 81]
 1921, [February–March] concert with the Prague Philharmonic Orchestra under Václav Talich [1977: 82]
 1921, May, Vienna Staatsoper, Beethoven's *Fidelio* under Franz Schalk and Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* under Richard Strauss; also Korngold's *Die tote Stadt* [1954: 152; 1977: 84]
 1921, “end of May,” Rome, Mengelberg conducts series of concerts including Mahler's Symphony No. 1 and Beethoven's Ninth Symphony [1954: 153; 1977: 85]
 1922, January 15, Rome, Fritz Reiner conducts *Ballata delle gnomidi*; Reiner says that he conducted the work in Germany and received a more enthusiastic welcome [1954: 155; 1977: 89]
 1922, February 5, Rome, Augusteo, [while Elsa and Ottorino are on tour] premiere of Respighi's *Concerto gregoriano* for violin and orchestra, with violinist Mario Corti conducted by Bernardino Molinari [1954: 156; 1977: 89]
 1922, February, Rome, Nadia Boulanger plays organ and Lili Boulanger presents her *Pour les funérailles d'un soldat* [1977: 90]
 1922, March–April, Rome, Teatro dei Piccoli (Teatro Odescalchi), Ottorino's *La Bella addormenta*, with marionettes [1954: 156–158; 1977 90–91]

1922, March, Rome, Augusteo, Bruno Walter conducts Schoenberg's *Verklärte Nacht* [1977: 91–92]
 1922, April, Rome, recital by Alfred Cortot [1977: 92]
 1922–1923, [1923, April 6]⁵ first appearance of Ravel in Rome [1977: 94]
 1922–1923, Rome, recital by Arthur Rubinstein [1977: 94–95]
 1922–1923, Rome, recital by and acquaintance of Andrés Segovia [1977: 95]
 1923, February, Rome, Molinari conducts the Roman premiere of Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du printemps* [1977: 95]
 1923, March–April, Milan, Teatro alla Scala, rehearsals and premiere of Respighi's *Belfagor* [1954: 162–167; 1977: 99–102]
 1923, December, recitals by cellist Gaspar Cassadó and pianist José Iturbi in Rome [1977: 102–103]
 1924, March [5],⁶ Rome, Augusteo, premiere of Falla's *Noches en los jardines de España*, with Arthur Rubinstein conducted by Molinari [1977: 104]
 1924, [March 28],⁷ Rome, Santa Cecilia (Sala Accademica), Italian premiere of Schoenberg's *Pierrot Lunaire*, conducted by Schoenberg, and organized by Alfredo Casella's *Corporazione delle Nuove Musiche*; first visit of Schoenberg to Italy [1977: 106]
 1924, April [13],⁸ Rome, Augusteo, Italian premiere of Beethoven's *Missa solemnis*, conducted by Molinari; six performances [1977: 106]
 1924, December 14, Rome, Augusteo, world premiere of Ottorino's *I Pini di Roma*, with Molinari conducting; repeated on December 28 [1954: 178–179; 1977: 107]
 1925, January [9 in the Sala Accademica, 11 in the Augusteo],⁹ José Iturbi performs Albéniz's *Iberia* [1977: 109]
 1924–1925, [1925, January 14 and 17],¹⁰ Rome, Ignacy Jan Paderewski returns to Rome for several recitals [1977: 104–105]

⁵ *Concerto di musica di Maurice Ravel con l'intervento dell'autore: esecutori M. Macola pianoforte, D. Dettelbach soprano ... : Sala dei concerti, venerdì 6 aprile [1923]* (Rome: Manuzio, 1923). Fondo Uffici 1 c., I-Rce.

⁶ *Concerto del pianista Arturo Rubinstein; l'orchestra sotto la direzione di Bernardino Molinari : Augusteo, mercoledì 5 marzo 1924* (Rome: Squarci, 1924). Fondo Uffici 1 op., I-Rce.

⁷ *Concerto di musica contemporanea : Sala accademica di Santa Cecilia, venerdì 28 marzo [1924]* (Rome: Manuzio, 1924). Fondo Uffici 1 op., I-Rce.

⁸ *Prima esecuzione in Italia della Missa solemnis in re magg. (op. 123) per soli, coro, orchestra e organo di Beethoven; direttore Bernardino Molinari : Augusteo, domenica 13 aprile 1924* (Rome: Squarci, 1924). Fondo Uffici 1 op., I-Rce.

⁹ *Concerto del pianista José Iturbi ... : [Sala Accademica], venerdì 9 gennaio 1925. [S.l. s.n.]* (Rome: Glingler, 1925). *Concerto del pianista José Iturbi : Augusteo, domenica 11 gennaio 1925. [S.l. s.n.], 1925.* Fondo Uffici 1 op., I-Rce.

1925, [April 4 and 24],¹¹ Rome, Augusteo (4), concert of music by Stravinsky, with the composer playing his Piano Concerto; Sala Accademica (24), chamber music concert of music by and conducted by Stravinsky [1977: 117]
 1925, November 2–12, Budapest, Ottorino conducts the Philharmonic Orchestra in two concerts of his music [1954: 186; 1977: 116]
 1925, December 31, New York, Carnegie Hall, Ottorino is the soloist at the piano for the premiere of *Concerto in modo misolidio*, with Wilhelm Mengelberg conducting [1954: 190; 1977: 120–121]
 1926, January 14, New York, Carnegie Hall, Toscanini conducts the American premiere of *I Pini di Roma* [1954: 191; 1977: 121]
 1926, January, Ottorino conducts the Philadelphia Orchestra (Stokowsky) in Philadelphia, Washington, Cleveland, and Baltimore [1954: 191–192; 1977: 121–122]
 1926, January 20–30, Chicago, Ottorino conducts the Chicago Symphony (Frederick Stock conducts *Concerto in modo misolidio*) [1954: 192; 1977: 122]
 1926, February 5–6, Cincinnati, concerts with the Cincinnati Orchestra (Fritz Reiner) [1954: 192]
 [1926, February 7 and 10],¹² Rome, Augusteo, recitals by Leopold Godowsky [1977: 112]
 1926, March 2–15, Respighi Festival in the Netherlands (Amsterdam, The Hague, Arnhem, Rotterdam); Ottorino played *Concerto in modo misolidio* and conducted *I Pini di Roma*. Elsa sang with Ottorino at the piano [1954: 192; 1977: 123–124]
 [1926, April 7 and 9],¹³ concerts by Sergey Prokofiev at the Augusteo [1977: 112]

¹⁰ *Concerto pianistico di Ignazio Giovanni Paderewski : Augusteo, mercoledì 14 gennaio 1925*. [S.l. s.n.], 1925. *Secondo ed ultimo concerto di Paderewski : Augusteo, sabato 17 gennaio 1925*. [S.l. s.n.], 1925. Fondo Uffici 1 op., I-Rce.

¹¹ [*Concerto orchestrale di musiche di Igor Stravinskij; direttore Bernardino Molinari : Augusteo*], domenica 5 aprile 1925. [S.l. s.n.], 1925. *Esecuzione di musica da camera di Igor Stravinski diretta dall'autore, col concorso della cantante Vera Janacopulos e del pianista Alfredo Casella : [Sala Accademica], venerdì 24 aprile 1925* (Rome: Glingler, 1925). Fondo Uffici 1 op., I-Rce. Olivieri recalls these concerts to have been “toward the end of 1925.”

¹² *Concerto del pianista Leopoldo Godowski : Augusteo, domenica 7 febbraio 1926*. [S.l. s.n.], 1926. *Secondo ed ultimo concerto del pianista Leopoldo Godowski : Augusteo, mercoledì 10 febbraio 1926*. [S.l. s.n.], 1926. Fondo Uffici 1 op., I-Rce.
 Olivieri mentions Godowsky’s concert as happening in 1925, but the programs in the Sta. Cecilia archive only have these two concerts.

¹³ *Concerto del pianista e compositore Sergio Prokofief; orchestra sotto la direzione di Mario Rossi : Augusteo, mercoledì 7 aprile 1926*. [S.l. s.n.], 1926. *Concerto del pianista e compositore Sergio Prokofief e della cantante Lina Llubera Prokofief : [Sala Accademica], venerdì 9 aprile 1926* (Rome: Glingler, 1926). Fondo Uffici 1 op., I-Rce.
 Olivieri mentions Prokofiev’s appearance in 1925, but the archives only have programs for 1926.

1926, November 11, Berlin, Ottorino performs *Concerto in modo misolidio* under Heinz Huger [1954: 195; 1977: 126]

1927, March 11 and 15, Rome, Santa Cecilia (Sala Accademica), first concerts of Horowitz in Rome¹⁴

1927, April 10, Rome, Augusteo, Italian premiere of *Concerto in modo misolidio*, with pianist Carlo Zecchi conducted by Molinari [1954: 198; 1977: 131]

1927, mid-September, Vienna, premiere of *Trittico botticelliano*, commissioned by Mrs. Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge [1954: 199; 1977: 132]

1927, November 18, Hamburg, premiere of *La Campana sommersa* [1954: 200; 1977: 133]

1927, December 25, Augusteo, Horowitz soloist with the orchestra¹⁵

1928, November 10 and 11, Paris, Salle Gaveau, two concerts with the Lamoureux Orchestra conducted by Ottorino; comment by Camille Bellaigue: "C'est le seul qui est dans la verité." [1954: 206–207; 1977: 137]

1928, November 28 and 30, New York, Carnegie Hall, New York Philharmonic, premiere of Respighi's *Toccata*, with Ottorino as soloist and Mengelberg conducting [NYPhil archives online; 1954: 209; 1977: 138–139; Elsa states the dates in both sources as November 24 and 29]

1928, November 24 and 30 (three other performances, the last on January 9, 1929) Metropolitan Opera, US premiere of *La Campana sommersa*, conducted by Tullio Serafin; opening night with the presence of the composer, fifty-three curtain calls [Met Archives online; 1954: 209–210; 1977: 138–139, 141; Elsa states the dates in both sources as November 25 and 29]

1929, April, Milan and Rome, *La Campana sommersa* at La Scala and Teatro Reale respectively [1954: 217–220; 1977: 141–142]

1929, August, Buenos Aires, Argentina, Teatro Colón, three performances of *La Campana sommersa* to capacity crowds, conducted by Ottorino [1954: 221–224; 1977: 147]

1929, November, Bologna, Teatro Comunale, three performances of *La Campana sommersa* conducted by Ottorino [1954: 227–228; 1977: 151]

1930, May 9, Milan, Toscanini conducts the New York Philharmonic on their European tour, presenting Respighi's *Passacaglia* after J. S. Bach. Toscanini had conducted the premiere in Carnegie Hall in April [1954: 230–231; 1977: 152–153]

1931, March 7–19, Respighi Festival in Belgium, with orchestra and chamber music concerts in Ghent, Brussels, Liège, and Antwerp (including *La campana sommersa* in Flemish at this city's opera) [1954: 242–243; 1977: 157–158]

1931, end of August, Bayreuth, Germany, performances of *Parsifal* and *Tannhäuser* conducted by Toscanini [1954: 248; 1977: 160]

¹⁴ *Concerto del pianista Wladimir Horowitz : [Sala Accademica], venerdì 11 marzo 1927* (Rome: Pinci, 1927). *Concerto del pianista Wladimir Horowitz : [Sala Accademica], martedì 15 marzo 1927* (Rome: Pinci, 1927). Fondo Uffici 1 op., I-Rce.

¹⁵ *Concerto del pianista Vladimir Horovitz; direttore d'orchestra Mario Rossi : Augusteo, domenica 25 dicembre 1927*. [S.l. s.n.], 1927. Fondo Uffici 1 op., I-Rce.

1932, January 23, Milan, La Scala, premiere of Ottorino's ballet *Belkis* [1954: 252; 1977: 165–166]

1932, March 16–18, New York, Carnegie Hall, Ottorino conducts the premiere of his "concert opera" *Maria Egiziaca* [1954: 259–260; 1977: 168]; he conducts again the New York Philharmonic on March 20 in Brooklyn [NYPhil archives]

1932, April 24 and 27, Rome, Augusteo, Molinari conducts the Italian premiere of *Maria Egiziaca* [1954: 263; 1977: 168]

1932, August 10 and 13, Venice, Festival Internazionale di Musica Contemporanea, Goldoni and La Fenice theaters, Ottorino conducts performances of *Maria Egiziaca* [1954: 264–265; 1977: 173–174]

1933, February 19, San Remo, Casino Municipale, premiere of Ottorino's ballet *Gli Uccelli* [1954: 271]

1933, April, Rome, recital by Sergei Rachmaninoff [1977: 177]

1933, May 11, Rome, I Pini, chamber music concert dedicated to Mrs. Coolidge, who was their guest; in the program was Ottorino's *Concerto a cinque* [1954: 273; 1977: 178–180]

1933, October, Helsinki, performance of *Maria Egiziaca* in Finnish [1954: 276–277; 1977: 182–183]

1933, November 1, Berlin, Ottorino conducts the Berliner Philharmoniker in an all-Respighi program [1954: 277; 1977: 183]

1933, November 3, Königsberg (today Kaliningrad), Ottorino conducts another concert (possibly the same program) [1954: 277]

1934, January 23, Rome, Teatro dell'Opera, premiere of Ottorino's opera *La fiamma*; first of six performances; presence of both the King Victor Emmanuel III and Mussolini [1954: 284; 1977: 185–186]

1934, beginning of February, Milan, La Scala, Ottorino conducts *Maria Egiziaca* [1954: 293; 1977: 186]

1934, end of May, Paris, Opéra Comique, French premiere of *Maris Egiziaca* [1954: 300–301; 1977: 192–193]

1934, July 11, Buenos Aires, Argentina, Teatro Colón, Ottorino conducts the Argentinian premiere of *La fiamma* [1954: 301–303; 1977: 193–194]

1934, July 20, Montevideo, Uruguay, Ottorino conducts the Uruguayan premiere of *La fiamma* [1954: 303–305; 1977: 194–195]

1935, March 16, Milan, La Scala, premiere of Ottorino's version of Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* [1954: 309–310; 1977: 198–200]

1935, between April 10 and 19, Budapest, Hungary, Hungarian premiere of *La fiamma*, conducted by Sergio Failoni [1954: 312–314; 1977: 200–201]

1937, May 1, Florence, Maggio Fiorentino, Debussy's *Pelléas et Melisande* conducted by Albert Wolff, in French [1977: 213]

1937, May 27, Florence, Maggio Fiorentino, Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro*, conducted by Bruno Walter and directed by Herbert Graf [1977: 214]

1937, June (?), Vienna, Vienna State Opera, Austrian premiere Ottorino's *La fiamma*, directed by Lothar Wallerstein [1977: 215]

1938, February 16, Rome, Adriano, premiere of the Suite from Ottorino's *Belkis, regina de Saba* [1977: 219]

1938, February 23, Rome, Adriano, Rome premiere of Sibelius's Symphony No. 5 [1977: 219–220]

1938, May, Florence, Maggio Fiorentino, Bartok's *Bluebeard's Castle*, directed by Sergio Failing, sets and costumes by Gustav Olah, cast from the Budapest Royal Opera [1977: 221]

1938, May 6, Florence, Maggio Fiorentino, Ottorino's *La fiamma*, directed by Sergio Failing, sets and costumes by Gustav Olah, cast from the Budapest Royal Opera [1977: 221]; repeated in 1939/1940 at La Scala, Milan [1977: 227]

1938, June 18, Rome, Basilica Massenzio, Ottorino's *Le fontane di Roma*, NBC Symphony Orchestra conducted by Molinari [1977: 222]

1940, [no month], Roma, Santa Cecilia, Beethoven recital by Edwin Fischer [1977: 228]

1940, March, Rome, Opera di Roma, performance of Ottorino's *La campana sommersa* [1977: 229]

1940, March 17, Bologna, Teatro Comunale, Ottorino's *Maria Egiziaca, Gli uccelli*, and *Trittico botticelliano* [1977: 229]

1940, May, Florence, Maggio Fiorentino, performance of Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov* in the original version [1977: 231]

1941, May, Florence, Maggio Fiorentino, Italian premiere of Busoni's *Doktor Faustus* [1977: 236]

1941, May, Florence, Maggio Fiorentino, Mozart's *Don Giovanni* conducted by Herbert von Karajan [1977: 236]

1947, June, Budapest, Royal Opera, after the fiftieth performance of Ottorino's *La fiamma*, the Russian occupation prohibits any further performances [1977: 259]

1947, last months, Rome, Royal Opera, Roman premiere of Britten's *Peter Grimes* and Prokofiev's *Lof of Three Oranges* and *Peter and the Wolf* [1977: 260]

1948, May 27, Florence, Teatro Comunale, performance of Mussorgski's *Khovanshchina*, with Boris Christoff, production by Lothar Wallerstein, conducted by Vittorio Gui [1977: 263]

1949, May, Florence, Maggio Fiorentino, Teatro Comunale, performance of Sadler's Wells Ballet with Margot Fonteyn [1977: 268]

1949, July, Rome, Massenzio Basilica, Roman introduction to Samuel Barber's *Adagio for Strings*, conducted by Jacques Rachmilovich; the program also included Ottorino's orchestrations of five of Rachmaninoff's *Études-tableaux* [1977: 268]

1950, May 5, Rome, performance with Victoria de los Angeles [1977: 273]

1951, September 11, Venice, La Fenice, world premiere of Stravinsky's *The Rake's Progress*, conducted by the composer, directed by Carl Ebert; Elizabeth Schwarzkopf sang [1977: 281]

1953, May 7, Florence, Maggio Fiorentino, Maria Callas sang Cherubini's *Medea*, conducted by Vittorio Gui [1977: 286]

1953, May 9, Florence, Maggio Fiorentino, Italian premiere of Menotti's *Amahl and the Night Visitors*, conducted by Stokowsky, choreographed by Balanchine, and directed by Menotti [1977: 286]

1953, May, Florence, Maggio Fiorentino, Italian premiere of Prokofiev's *War and Peace*, conducted by Rodzinski, directed by Tatiana Pavlova [1977: 286]

1953, November, Milan, La Scala, Cherubini's *Medea* conducted by Leonard Bernstein [1977: 287]

1954, September, Venice, La Fenice, world premiere of Britten's *Turn of the Screw*, by the English Opera Group conducted by Britten [1977: 290]

APPENDIX C

Translation

Elsa Respighi, “L’influence du Chant grégorien dans la musique de Respighi,” *Schweizerische Musikzeitung/Revue musicale suisse* 96, no. 4 (April 1956): 161–162.

Translation from the French:

The Influence of Gregorian Chant in the Music of Respighi

The celebrated Italian composer [Ottorino Respighi], whom we will commemorate on April 18 — the twentieth anniversary of his death — holds a special place in Italian music. However, we should not forget that he is at the basis of the renaissance of symphonic music in his country, a country that was thus being liberated from the hold of theatre and of foreign influences. One of his most performed works, “The Fountains of Rome” [Fontane di Roma], gives the most convincing proof of that. It is known that his masterworks owe immensely to the Gregorian art, and on this topic it is interesting to recall the words of Mrs. Elsa Respighi, his spouse, who was his student and his master at the same time, and his most faithful collaborator.

Gilbert Chapallaz

We had been married for a short time when, one day, I asked the Maestro if he had ever dedicated himself to the study of Gregorian chant. He replied that it was something he had desired to do for a long time, but that he never had the opportunity. Emboldened by a diploma on the subject I had finished some months before with the highest marks—a subject I studied with particular passion—I offered myself as a teacher, but I must say that my efforts were not that important. Indeed, in a few days Respighi had assimilated all that I knew and even more.

It was a veritable intoxication. A day would not pass without him asking me to intone for him some pages of the *Graduale romanum*: he listened, delighted, and this enchantment really had a notable influence on his art.

The three “Preludes on Gregorian Melodies” [Tre preludi sopra melodie gregoriane] for piano, the “Mixolydian Concerto” [Concerto in modo misolidio] for piano and orchestra, the “Gregorian Concerto” [Concerto gregoriano] for violin and orchestra, and the “Dorian Quartet” [Quartetto dorico] all belong to this period, and one can say that all of his compositions after 1920 have echoes of Gregorian music.

The three “Preludes on Gregorian Melodies,” written in Capri over the summer of 1919, are a good reflection of Respighi’s soul at that time (a unique joy brought about by a revelation, as well as a mystical exaltation of a profound, religious kind). A few years after their publication, Respighi had the desire to orchestrate them and add a fourth movement, and he looked for a title for these four symphonic impressions. Claudio Guastalla, the Maestro’s faithful collaborator, proposed “Church Windows” [Vetrata di chiesa]; the title pleased him, but he feared that on account of the division in four parts they would be seen next to his other symphonic poems, which are something absolutely different. If one observes, one realizes that in the Respighian symphonic poem the four movements follow each other without an idea of continuity, while on the contrary these four impressions form a concrete whole. The critics have rarely pointed out that the first three numbers were the Gregorian preludes, and in their praise they talk of “program music,” ignoring the laborious research done by the poet and by the musician in order to know to which saint to dedicate each part. For the first one, they had the impression of the leisurely pace of a caravan, so they found “The Flight into Egypt”; for the second one, the impetuous ones, the idea of a warrior saint made them think of “Saint Michael the Archangel,” with an epigraph taken from the Gospel according to St. Matthew; for the third one it was complicated, and they reviewed the most sweet and gentle saints, stopping with

“The Matins of Santa Chiara,” so marvelously described in St. Francis’s “Little Flowers.” How amusing it was to read in the European and American press the praises saying that the music was admirably adapted to the inspiring text. This anecdote has an explanation: in Respighi’s music there is sometimes a program, but it is always written after the score is finished, as we have said elsewhere. The music was born in him from a soul state, from an inner poetic vision, and afterwards it developed and expressed itself in a purely musical language; this is quite different from choosing a literary text and following it musically. Respighi was a poet, but always only strictly in music.

But let us return to the influence of Gregorian chant on his works, and we can ask ourselves how he could have written any of his most important works without the presence of Gregorian themes. For example, the finale of the first act of “The Flame” [La fiamma], [and] the splendid intermezzo and the finale of the same opera, where the liturgical chant is associated with the passionate chant of the crowd in a way never before equaled; through which other means of expression could he have obtained the same dramatic force? And in “Mary of Egypt” [Maria egiziaca], how can one imagine this triptych without the research on the Gregorian chants that accompany the conversion of the Great Priestess?

Blessed be Destiny, that my minimal aid might have guided Respighi to the pure spring from which his music could gush forth with such a powerful creative force.

APPENDIX D

Permission to Publish *Fondazione Giorgio Cini*

Permesso di pubblicare

Francisco Rocca <archivimusic@cini.it>
To: Penny Brandt <penny.brandt@uconn.edu>

Wed, Apr 12, 2017 at 6:06 AM

Cara Penny,

sono lieto che il tuo lavoro sia pronto. L'Istituto per la Musica autorizza l'inclusione del catalogo delle opere di Elsa Respighi e la riproduzione degli esempi musicali. Il tuo lavoro mi sarà di grande utilità per la descrizione dei materiali del fondo sulla nostra piattaforma informatica.

In questi ultimi mesi c'è stato grande interesse per la musica di Elsa, soprattutto grazie alle iniziative promosse da Luisa Zecchinelli, che forse hai avuto modo di conoscere (<https://www.concorsoelsarespighi.com/about>).

Un cordiale saluto,
Francisco Rocca

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